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THE
PALATINES
OF NEW YORK STATE

P. 100

A complete compilation of the history of the Palatines who first came to New York State in 1708-1722

THE PALATINES OF NEW YORK STATE

A complete compilation of the history of the Palatines who first came to New York State in 1708-1722



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The Palatine Society of the United
Evangelical Lutheran Church of
New York and New England, Inc.

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i

BARONET LITHO CO.

Johnstown, N. Y.





OWEN D. YOUNG

Born in Van Hornesville, N. Y., October 27, 1874; a direct Palatine descendant.

St. Lawrence University and Boston University Law School.

Married Josephine Sheldon Edmonds 1898. Children: Charles Jacob, John, Josephine, Philip, Richard. Married Louise Powis Clark 1937.

Vice-President and Chairman General Electric Company 1913-1939; at present Honorary President. Founder of the Radio Corporation of America and Chairman 1919-33. Director of Federal Reserve Bank of New York 1923 and Chairman 1938-40. Member of the Dawes Reparations Committee 1924. Chairman of the second Reparations Committee which drew up the "Young Plan."

Trustee St. Lawrence University for 22 years; President of the Board for 10 years. Member of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York 1934-46. Donor of the Van Hornesville Central School site and buildings.

Lives in Florida and Van Hornesville.

His Palatine interest and generosity made possible this publication, 1953.

Foreword

In recent years efforts have been made to set forth the Palatine immigrations into New York during the years 1708, 1710 and 1722. Some of these efforts made no pretense at any research or documentation. The Pennsylvanian historians have done much better than we in New York State.

To Lou D. MacWethy and Colonel Boyd Ehle we must give the credit of initiating interest and research which others have continued. They pointed the way and led in the pursuit of facts. But it was presented in a somewhat fragmentary form.

The Palatine Society a few years ago authorized a committee to make research and prepare for publication an account as complete and whole as possible. This committee consisted of Paul B. Mattice, Editor-in-Chief; Mrs. Millicent W. Veeder, Clifford M. Young, the Rev. Herman F. Vesper, N. Berton Alter, Charles L. Ryder, the Rev. Walter Krumwiede, S.T.D., and George W. Bagley.

This volume is the result of their work. It is well done. It is comprehensive. We hope that it will meet the need in our local schools in teaching New York State history.

We know it will be of interest to thousands of Palatine descendants scattered all over the United States and Canada who have been looking for source material concerning their ancestry.

ANDREW LUTHER DILLENBECK,
First President Palatine Society, Inc.



THIS FLAG WAS DISCOVERED IN THE OLD PALA-
TINE CHURCH SOME YEARS AGO. IT WAS IN
ALL PROBABILITY MADE BETWEEN 1777 AND 1791
WHEN VERMONT CAME INTO THE UNION
MAKING THE FOURTEENTH STATE

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Key to Source Reference Citations

- B. T. Jour. — Records of the Board of Trade Journal published by the British Government.
- C. C. — Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies.
- N. Y. Col. Mss. — Manuscripts in New York State Archives at Albany, N. Y.
- P. R. O. — Public Records Office, London, Eng.
- S. P. G. — Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. (N. Y. Historical Library, Hawk's Transcripts.)
- Liv. Mss. — Manuscripts of Robert Livingston, now in possession of Johnston Livingston Redmont, New York City.
- Hist. Mss. Com. — Historical Manuscripts published the British Government.
- Doc. Hist. — Documentary History of New York.
- N. Y. Col. Docs. — Documents in Colonial History of N. Y.

The Palatines of New York State

The story of the Palatine immigration is of intrinsic value to every student of provincial and state history. It is a story that has never been written in full nor has its influence been fully valued. In Europe it is a story of one war after another, with thousands losing their lives, other thousands experiencing a total loss of possessions, while undergoing great suffering and tragedy, with sublime courage and grim determination.

No pioneer group sought longer and harder for civil and religious liberty. And no pioneer group observed those principles, when they were won, more faithfully in their contacts with other pioneer racial groups than the Palatines. On reaching the New York frontier their experiences were unique and unlike that of any other pioneer settlers. They bore patiently the injustices of designing men. They kept the faith of their fathers and sang the hymns of Calvin and Luther until the hills echoed. At Oriskany they stood like a stone wall, made General Barry St. Leger lift the siege of Fort Stanwix (Rome), and made the surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga possible. After independence was won, by their industry and persistence they helped make New York the Empire State. The roots of the Palatines are deep down in the soil of New York.

THE WARS IN THE PALATINATE

The name "Palatinate" comes from the title of an official, a "Palatine," sent by the Roman Caesars to govern the southwestern section of Germany after the conquest of Gaul in the first century. The name, Palatinate, has had no significance in modern German history except that the people in that area became known as "Palatinates." Both in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1714), their homeland was repeatedly and completely devastated. In the later war King Louis XIV of France boasted that a crow flying over would starve, so completely was the devastation

carried out. Homes, crops, fruit trees, churches, libraries, villages and cities were pillaged and burned. The area along the Rhine, Main and Neckar Rivers of Spire, Worms, Hesse-Darmstadt, Zweibrücken, Nassau, Alsace, Baden and Wurtemberg was laid in ruins, an area about the size of the state of Massachusetts and having a population of 500,000 people. About 1200 towns and cities were destroyed.

Thousands were driven from their homes and thousands perished for want of shelter, food and clothing. Not even the famous University of Heidelberg or the sacred tombs of the German Emperors at Worms were spared. Two hundred years later the ruins of Heidelberg were pointed out as the most imposing ruins in Europe. No such complete devastation was ever witnessed until World Wars I and II. The War of the Spanish Succession lasted twelve years and was terminated by the Peace of Utrecht in 1714. Rough soldiers were quartered in the homes and were free to disorder the life of the Palatines and insult their women. Men yielded by compulsion to this who would never have yielded to the rack or fire at the stake.

INVASION, PLUNDERING AND PERSECUTION

These plunderings and devastations were a French blunder, inspired by the political ambitions and religious malice of King Louis XIV in an effort to seat his grandson, Philip of Anjou, a Bavarian youth, on the throne of Spain. Germany at that time was a nation composed of a group of loosely held together principalities under an Emperor chosen by the House of Austria. The Palatinate constituted no military threat to France. Subsequently France paid dearly for these political ambitions of Louis XIV, for England, Germany, Austria, Sweden and Holland united in opposition and achieved great victories over the French at Blenheim, Ramillies and Oudenarde, and made John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough, among the greatest of the world's generals.

By the end of the year 1708 it was pretty clear to the people of the Palatinate that there was no possible hope for peace and happiness in their homeland. The almost continual wars, the clash of religious creeds, class distinctions that made the son fol-

low the vocation of his father, the little opportunity for education, the many taxes and regulations of their own rulers of state and church, the aping of the splendor of the French Court and the "contributions that they must pay the enemy," denied them any hope or prospect of maintaining their families or rearing their children under decent living conditions. In addition the German principalities were frequently at war with one another. Both trade and agriculture were held in abeyance by these petty struggles.

There may have been some religious persecutions in the Lower Palatinate of the Pfalz, from which the majority of the Palatines of New York State came, but it is doubtful if these earlier persecutions were among the causes of their exodus from the Rhineland in 1709. Unfortunately at that time on the Continent the rule adopted at the Peace of Westphalia was still in existence. This rule provided that the religion of the people should follow that of the ruler. It was a far cry from religious freedom for the people. After a line of Protestant Electors, Reformed and Lutheran, for a hundred years, Elector Palatine Philip William, a Lutheran, died in 1690. He was succeeded by John William, a Catholic, who ruled the Palatinate until 1716.

An attempt was made at the time of accession of Elector John William to have the people return to their Roman faith, which was strongly resisted by the Calvinists, Lutheran, Mennonites, Quakers, and others. The most serious religious persecution, however, emanated from the invasions of King Louis and his directives to the Marshals invading the Upper Palatinate or Bavarian Palatinate of the Rhine. The Upper or Bavarian Palatinate was always strongly Catholic. The situation became desperate in 1672 when the Swedes joined France and when the Turks in 1683 laid siege to Vienna.

King Louis was a crafty, cruel, unprincipled monarch. He posed as the "Great Christian Monarch" to ingratiate himself with the Pope, but he also entered into an alliance with Oliver Cromwell, the Protestant ruler of England, when it served his political schemes. He looked upon the rich meadows, cultivated fields and the productive vine-clad hills of the Palatinate as did



King Ahab in Bible times on Naboth's vineyard, and desired to make it his own. He made the lives of the Electors Palatine miserable by deceitful diplomacy and frequent raids into the Palatinate, and sometimes they had to pay tribute to Louis.

In 1674 Louis sent Marshal Turenne into the Palatinate to devastate it thoroughly. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes put in effect by Henry IV of France guaranteeing the safety and freedom of religious worship to the Huguenots (Protestants) of France. Many of the Huguenots fled to the Palatinate, where they found a warm welcome, and in the next twenty years intermarried with the people of the Palatinate. This was not forgotten by Louis. Later he sent Marshal Montclas into the Palatinate with 50,000 men "that the Palatinate should be made a desert."

Of this unparalleled ferocity, Macaulay in his *History of England* says: "The French Commander announced to nearly one-half million of human beings that he granted them three days of grace, and that within that time they must shift for themselves. Soon the roads and fields which lay deep in snow were blackened by innumerable men, women and children flying from their homes. Many died of cold and hunger, but enough survived to fill the streets of all Europe with lean and squalid beggars, who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers." Then followed the invasion of 1707 by Marshal Villars, who duplicated the cruelties, pillage and destruction of Turenne in 1674 and Montclas in 1688-89. This great French army fed off the Palatinate for a whole year, took plunder and money by force and sent it back to France to help King Louis XIV finance his many schemes for political power.

THE EXODUS FROM THE PALATINATE

This critical situation was discussed secretly in family and small neighborhood groups during the severe winter of 1708-09. No word of plans for a group migration was allowed to reach the Elector Palatine for fear he would oppose the lessening of the man power in his Principality. Meanwhile William Penn of England had made two trips through the Palatinate trying to persuade the Palatines to migrate to his newly acquired Province of Pennsylvania; incidentally he made many converts for the

Society of Friends. Other English-American agents of Colonial landlords were also active in soliciting immigrants for their overseas plantations in America. Labor was very scarce and costly at that time in the Colonies. William Penn was the author of a law naturalizing foreign Protestants and allowing them to purchase land and engage in trade. This was also a great incentive to migration from the Palatinate to England.

Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, a Lutheran clergyman, in 1706 made a trip to England to familiarize himself with the conditions in the English-American Colonies and on his return to the Palatinate wrote a booklet on the attractive settlement possibilities in America. This booklet had a wide circulation in the Palatinate, running into the fourth edition. It was written entirely from the English records and claims of land agents and applied particularly to the advantages of settlement in the Carolinas. This no doubt influenced many. No real estate promoter ever pictured his offering in more glowing terms. Then followed the unparalleled cold winter of 1708-09 in which many perished because of the devastations, lack of shelter, clothing and food. So severe was the winter that all the rivers of northern Europe were ice bound until late in February which was unusual. The fruit trees and grape vines in the Palatinate were killed in spite of the salutary effect of the Gulf Stream on the climate of northern Europe.

THE SETTLEMENT AT NEWBURGH IN 1708

Rev. Kocherthal and forty-one Palatines visited England in 1708 and petitioned Queen Anne for their settlement in America. Kocherthal was a natural leader of men both in spiritual and material matters. The petition was referred to the London Board of Trade and approved. It was decided that these Palatines should be settled on the Hudson River in the Province of New York where they might be useful "in the production of naval stores and as a protection against the French and their Indians." This plan met the approval of Queene Anne; "an order for clothing, tools and to make the Palatines denizens of the Kingdom without charge" was made.

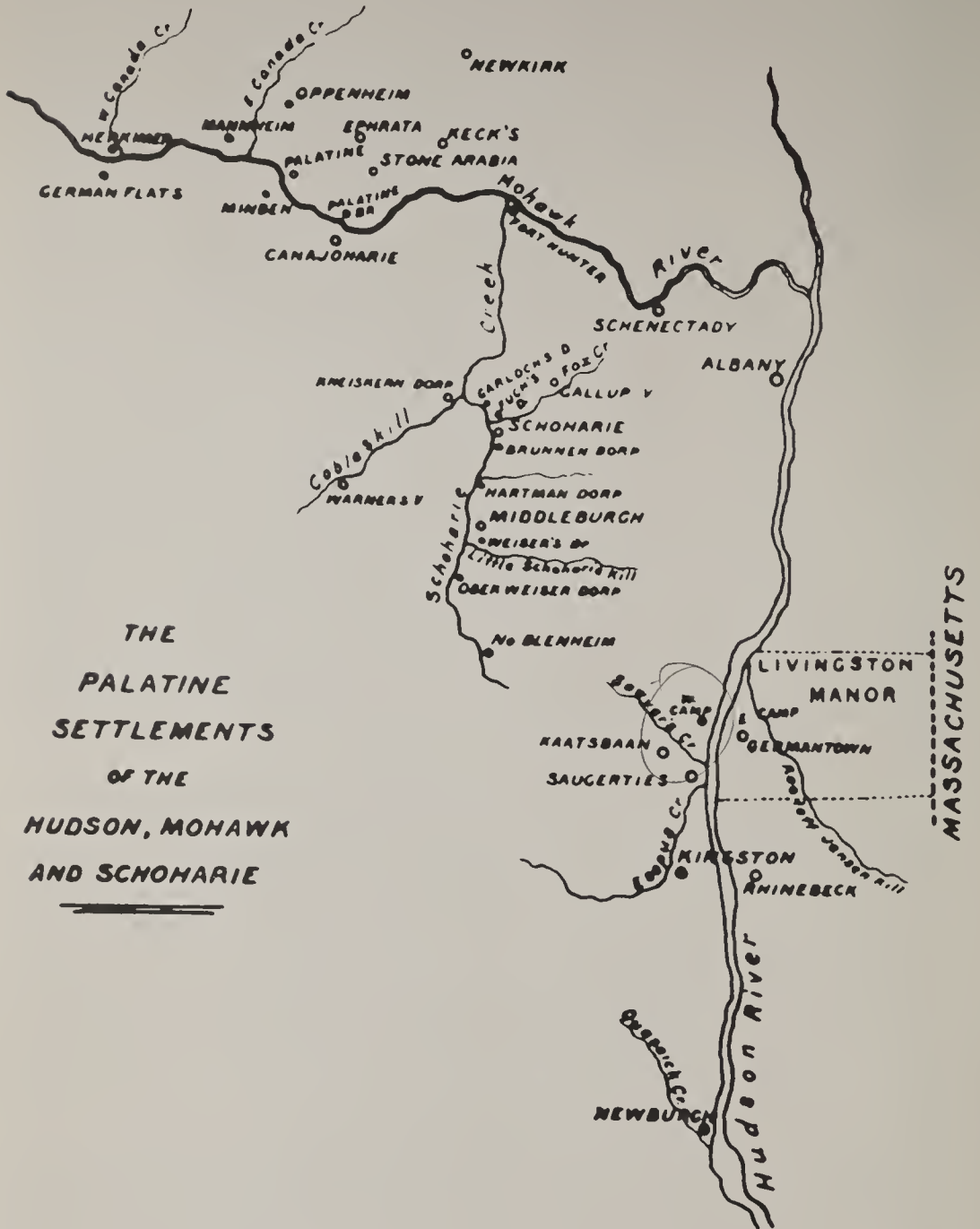
It was recommended by the Board of Trade that Governor Lovelace grant Rev. Kocherthal land for a glebe, and that twenty

pounds be allowed for clothes and books. This group was joined by fourteen more Palatines, so that the group totaled fifty-five persons. They sailed with Governor Lovelace for New York in October 1708 on the ship "Globe," arriving in New York City after a nine weeks' voyage. They spent some time in New York in preparation for settlement. Besides Kocherthal the men of this immigration were: Lorenz Schwisser, Henry Rennau, Andreas Volck, Michael Weigand, Jacob Webber, Jacob Pletel, Johannes Fischer, Melchior Gulch, Isaac Turk, also one Lockstadt and one Hennieke.

At the very end of the year of 1708 this group of Palatines landed at the mouth of Quassaick Creek, near present Newburgh, about sixty miles above New York City, and made the first Palatine settlement in the Province of New York. They hastily built crude log cabins while the "Globe" delayed its departure for a few days. Gov. Lovelace allotted Rev. Kocherthal 500 acres of land for church purposes, 200 additional acres for Kocherthal's family and 50 acres to each person. Lovelace spent "208 pounds, 10 shillings and 8 pence in behalf of these Palatines." This Palatine group at Newburgh was well provided for by Governor Lovelace. "The allowance of 9 pence per day for each person supplied them with food and other necessities." No covenant or contract was signed by these Palatines.

Then, unfortunately for the little colony, Governor Lovelace, who had contracted an illness on the way over, died on May 6th, 1709. Because of his death and because there was no permanent provision for the financial support of the colony, Rev. Kocherthal sailed for London in August 1709 to lay the condition of the colony at Newburgh before Queen Anne and the London Board of Trade. The Council of the City of New York temporarily supplied funds until new arrangements could be made by Kocherthal with the British Government.

Perhaps no one was ever more surprised than Kocherthal when he arrived in London in December 1709 and learned of the great numbers of his countrymen who had migrated from the Rhineland to England. He secured some relief for the Newburgh colony. The patent for this settlement, granted in 1719,



THE
 PALATINE
 SETTLEMENTS
 OF THE
 HUDSON, MOHAWK
 AND SCHONARIE

was known as the "German Patent," and consisted of 2190 acres of land along the Quassaick Creek in what was then Ulster County. These lands were among those recovered by the Crown, being of the "extravagant grants" issued by Governor Fletcher in 1694. The grant to "Michael Weigand" is where the Washington Headquarters at Newburgh now stands.

The Quassaick (Newburgh) Glebe Church was a small structure of logs built soon after the patent was confirmed. It was twenty feet square with a cupola in the center of the roof for the bell given by Queen Anne. There was also an aperture in the roof for the escape of the smoke from the charcoal heating pit in the center of a ground floor. These Palatines "found the stony, rocky hillsides more unyielding of produce than they had hoped" and listened with envious ears to the tales of more fertile farms to be had elsewhere. By 1751 all the Palatines and their descendants at Newburgh but one, Margaret Ward, had sold their land and moved to the Upper Hudson, Schoharie, New York City, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. After that date the history of the Newburgh colony is merged in that of the 1710 Palatine Immigration to New York.

The Glebe lands of 500 acres of the Lutheran Church were taken over in 1752 by the Anglican Church after a bitter court battle. By this time the Quassaick Parish had lost its distinctive German character. The importance of the Newburgh settlement is that it set the pattern for other Palatines to follow. The success of Kocherthal in gaining the assistance of Queen Anne and her government encouraged others to adopt the same course and seek new homes beyond the sea.

THE GREAT EXODUS TO ENGLAND IN 1709

During the winter of 1708-09 the Palatine leaders conferred with the English proprietary agents at Frankfort-on-the-Main. It was agreed that when those who wished to leave the Palatinate had found their way down the Rhine River, beyond the borders of their own country into Holland, that English ships would meet them and transport them across the North Sea to England. This was arranged so that there would be no offense to the Elector Palatine or the Emperor. John Churchill, the first Duke of



An Early C. & D.

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THE OLD QUASSAICK CHURCH AT NEWBURGH

Marlborough, and Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland and Secretary of State, were active in procuring English vessels. Queen Anne and her Cabinet were in agreement with this plan.

Anne all through her reign sought through diplomatic channels to have abolished the rule on the Continent adopted at the end of the Thirty Years War, that the religion of the people follow that of the ruler. Queen Anne's heart bled for the Palatines persecuted and despoiled by Louis XIV of France. When her husband, Prince George of Denmark, a Lutheran, died in October 1708 and she felt it her Christian duty to administer relief to the oppressed and persecuted countrymen of her late husband. With this plan of the Queen the Cabinet were in accord, for they laid down the rule "that the grandeur and prosperity of a country does in general consist in a multitude of inhabitants."

Historians differ as to the major cause of the exodus of the Palatines from the Rhineland in the spring of 1709. One noted authority has listed them as follows: "(1) war devastation, (2) heavy taxation, (3) an extraordinary winter, (4) religious quarrels, (5) land hunger on part of the elderly and a desire for adventure on part of the young, (6) liberal advertising by colonial proprietors, (7) and the benevolent and active cooperation of the British government." Another historian says: "The principal causes of the great German immigration to America in the eighteenth century were found to have been religious persecutions, the tyranny of autocrats, destructive wars, failure of crops and famine, economic bankruptcy."

Many were actuated by the hospitable Protestant religion, especially after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685. Unfortunately many of the elements of religious discord of the Thirty Years War remained in the minds of the people for two or three generations. This in itself was a disturbing element. It is probably impossible now to determine the relative importance of the many causes that led to the great exodus of the Palatines from the Rhine Valley in 1709. The Rev. Sanford H. Cobb writes: "Their story rightly told, must tell of statecraft and church policy, of the movements and campaigns of armies."



ST. JOHNSTOWN AND VICINITY

Among the major causes of the 1709 exodus from the Palatinate must be added the influence of William Penn's naturalization bill in "the interests of England to improve and thicken her colonies with people not her own," as he expressed it. Other Englishmen with Colonial land projects were also interested in the passage of a general naturalization act through parliament for the peopling of their overseas holdings. One Carolina landlord declared that 2,000 people in Carolina were worth 100,000 in England. Not only was the 1710 immigration to New York expedited by Penn's naturalization bill becoming a law, but it influenced the flow of German immigrants to America for many years. The Netherlands also passed a general naturalization act and there seems to have been a limited competition with the British government in encouraging immigration from the Rhineland. Both the Netherlands and England remembered that the trades and industries in both countries had been greatly benefited and extended by the coming of the foreign Protestants during the religious wars.

In 1707 Marshal Villars again ravished the Rhineland, crushing the defense and collecting large reparations. "Peace during King Louis XIV's reign of fifty-six years was of short duration," says another historian. Still another says Louis XIV's main objective was to consolidate France from the Pyrenees to the Rhine. He used bribery as well as warfare. Charles II of England was in his pay. Great numbers of his Protestant subjects were driven abroad by religious persecutions, taking the arts and industries with them. Even religious publications are not in entire accord on the comparative importance of the causes that led to this 1709 Rhineland exodus. Voltaire's "Sicle de Louis" is still our best picture of this period. Perhaps it was a combination of all of these causes that finally drove the Palatines to leave their homeland. Many towns seemed about ready to revert to the wolves, as in the Thirty Years War. The early spring of 1709 brought a great rush of Palatines down the Rhine River. The numbers reached proportions never dreamed of by the planners of the exodus. Most of them traveled in small open boats. The Elector Palatine issued an edict forbidding any more of his subjects to

leave his Principality. After this many were obliged to take land routes to Holland. Food, clothing and money were generously given the refugees at every step by their sympathetic countrymen.

It usually took about four weeks for the small boats via the Rhine River to reach Rotterdam in Holland. Sometimes they were delayed by the demands for river tolls. The Burgomasters of Rotterdam were sympathetic. They appropriated 750 gilders (75 pounds) and considerable private charity was given for the relief of the refugees. The British authorities became alarmed because of the expense of providing for the great numbers and tried to stop the rush to England. By June 1st of 1709 about a thousand a week were arriving at Rotterdam. The Dutch authorities also tried to prevent more refugees entering Holland but still they continued to arrive. But by October the rush had practically ceased, due to the warnings of the English and Dutch authorities, and the end of the season for traveling in open boats.

Most of the historians of that period say that 13,000 reached London by mid-summer of 1709. "Das verlangte, nicht erlangte Canaan" (The desired, not acquired Canaan) says that "32,468 went to England." Fully one-third of these refugees were of the Reformed faith, a slightly lesser number were Lutheran, and still lesser were Catholic, with a few Dunkards, sometimes called Baptists, and Mennonites. The 2,257 who were Catholics, because of the British rule then in existence of not receiving Catholic immigrants in the English colonies, were returned to Germany. Many families had both Catholic and Protestant members. All but a few were in destitute circumstances and there were many children.

The condition of all on arriving in London awakened the greatest pity. They were quartered in vacant buildings, warehouses, barns, and in 1600 tents at Blackheath, outside of London on the south side of the Thames River. Both the Whig party and the Established Church raised funds for the relief of the Palatines to the amount of 19,838 pounds and 11 shillings. These refugees became known to the sympathetic London people as the "Poor Palatines," a name that clung to them even after arriving in America.

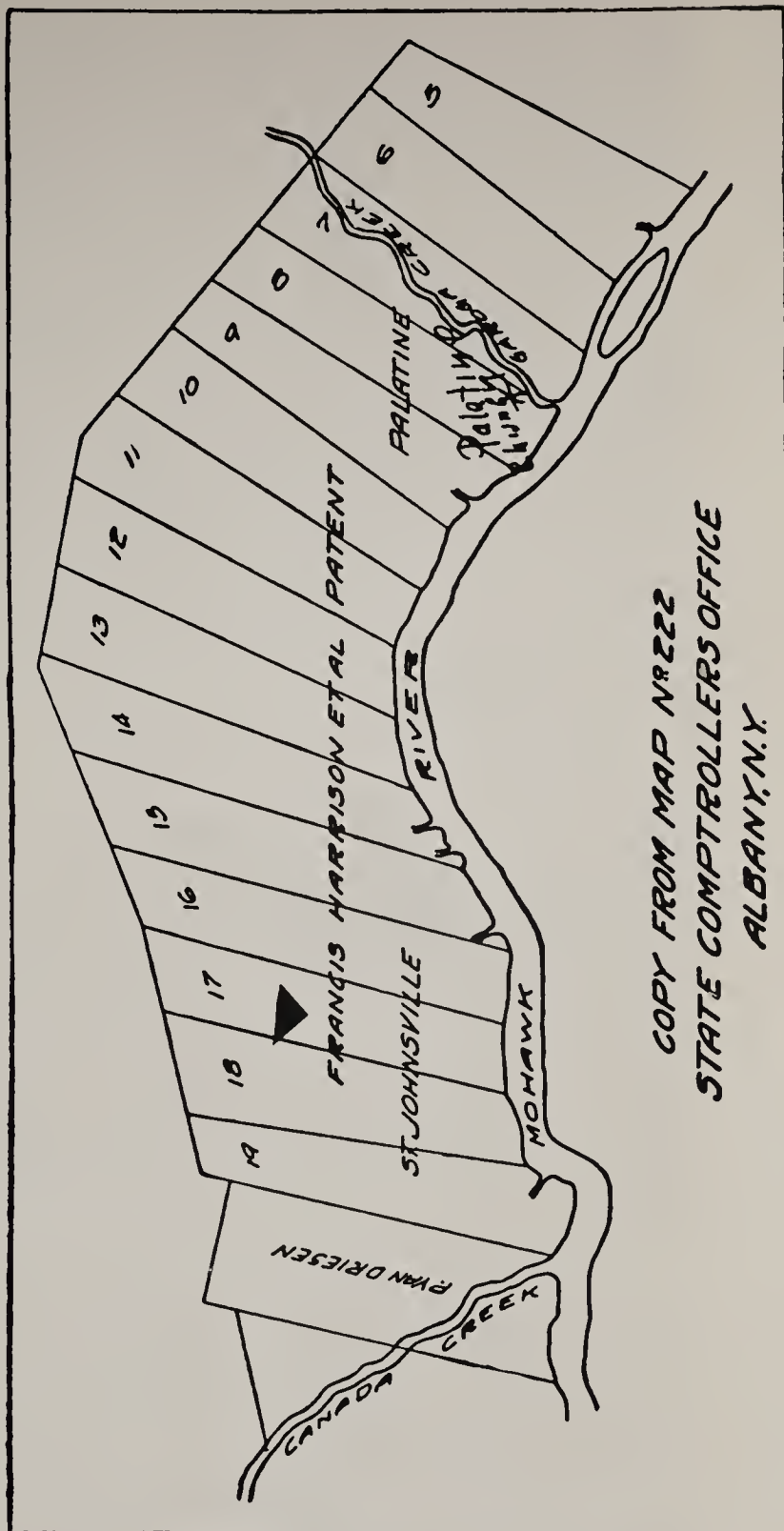
THE FRANCIS HARRISON PATENT

Purchased from the Mohawk Indians in 1722 for 700 Beaver skins, by Harrison and others "in the name and behoof of our sovereign lord, George II by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, etc." and sold by the crown to the original patent holders. The patent embraced the land north of the Mohawk from below the Palatine line on the east to Canada Creek on the west. The lot holders given are as they stood after the revolutionary war.

- The Lot Owners*
5. P. Warenmoth and Waggoner
 6. P. Wagner
 7. Ph. Fox and Geo. Helmer
 8. L. Helmer and H. W. Nellis
 9. Hess and Bellinger

10. Phi. Nellis and Jo Hess
11. John Klock
12. Chrstr. Nellis
13. George G. Klock and Jacob Klock
14. Timmerman and Veeling
15. Timmerman and Veeling

16. J. G. Klock
17. Adam Woolraat and Geo. Klock
18. Timmerman and Veeling
19. Elisabeth Johnson
20. Pet. Vandrissen Patent



The Rev. John Tribbeko of the Lutheran Royal Chapel and the Rev. Andrew Ruperti of the Lutheran Savoy Church were very active in the work of collecting funds and supplies for their relief. During the last week in June of 1709 a board of commissioners of nearly a hundred persons was appointed to solicit funds and supplies, and to seek places of employment for the Palatines. The Palatine camps were a source of wonder to the London people and were entirely dependent on the English government and public charity to keep them from starvation. Every Sunday they were visited by great crowds of curiosity seekers. The government allowance and private charity being insufficient to sustain them necessitated their begging in the streets when they were not employed. Meanwhile bread rose to its highest price in London. Many records say that they were content with the coarsest and cheapest foods and maintained their cheerfulness while waiting for what they expected would be a quick transportation to America.

Then there came a turn in the tide of English sympathy. The great number of the refugees and what to do with them became a very serious problem of the British government. The poor of London protested the expenditure of the public funds in behalf of foreigners instead of for their own needy. The Tory party in Parliament opposed the voting of funds for the relief of the Palatines with the result that they became a football of British politics. The crowded condition of their crude shelters made many of them ill and much sickness developed. And the English laboring classes claimed that wages had fallen from 18 pence to 15 pence per day in areas where the Palatines were quartered and worked.

The Palatine refugees had expected quick transportation to the American plantations but they were to experience months of delay while the London Board of Trade was formulating plans for their future. Five hundred of their men were employed by the merchants of Bedford in the Newfoundland fisheries. Some 3,498 persons were settled in Ireland, 650 were sent to the Carolinas and many to Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Many others were absorbed by the British people, and it

seems reasonable that a thousand must have died while encamped at Blackheath. And strange to relate, 150 able bodied men, mostly Catholics, were enlisted in the British Army and sent to Portugal. They were good enough to be soldiers in the British Army, but not for settlement in the colonies. Some Catholics found it convenient to change their religion.

The London Board of Trade was ordered to furnish a list of the numbers and a report on the condition of the Palatines. Pastors Tribbeko and Ruperti and many others were assigned to this task. These lists are the Palatine London Census of 1709 and constitute valuable sources of information about this migration. Unfortunately these lists record only about 6,000 names, less than half of the Palatines that reached London during the spring and summer of 1709. These census lists, of the various sections where quartered, have been published by the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, the "Book of Names" by L. D. MacWethy, and are on record at the New York State Library in Albany.

THE IMMIGRATION TO NEW YORK IN 1710

On August 30th, 1709, the London Board of Trade began considering a plan for locating the Palatines then remaining in London in the Province of New York and of having them manufacture naval stores for the British government. England was now well on her way toward the dominance of the sea, which she was to retain almost down to the present. England had been greatly handicapped for many decades by the lack of naval stores which she did not produce and was sometimes unable to procure from the Baltic states, even when they supplied nations at war with England. These deficiencies were embarrassing to the British naval authorities and they were determined to remedy the situation by using the immense resources of their American colonies in pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, and timber suitable for the masts of ships. Hemp seed was included in the list of supplies for the Province of New York in 1710.

It was definitely known in England that the Carolinas produced excellent pitch, tar and turpentine. Vigorous efforts were

The Following are the 10th division of each allotment to a
 100 shares of the undivided land and William Van derhey
 for the Twenty Ninth part of said undivided land and
 Lawyer at for Twenty, Twenty Nine parts of said undiv
 land

	Patentes Names &c.	10th allotment	10th allotment	10th allotment	10th allotment	10th allotment	10th allotment
1 st	Andrew Puffer	26	27	28	28	28	28
2 nd	Antonius Pukerdt	19	3	12	4	7	4
3 rd	Simon Carbach	7	9	8	27	17	19
4 th	William Stiles	15	1	14	20	12	24
5 th	John Christian Gadoch	9	8	7	5	11	12
6 th	Adam Empe	19	24	18	26	15	5
7 th	John Josh Smell	5	14	5	7	21	6
8 th	Christian Kirck	4	9	3	23	14	15
9 th	Hendrick Clay	8	7	9	24	17	29
10 th	William Van derhey	27	22	29	18	10	21
11 th	Martin Willenbach	11	5	10	10	25	7
12 th	Johannes Engold	2	11	1	17	24	1
13 th	Adrian Lepelmann	1	10	2	15	20	28
14 th	Andrus Church	27	25	28	19	0	18
15 th	John Lawyer this was sold by 19 Patentes and a daughter of Gurbart Schaffer, the north half half of Lot Number 100 in the 10th allotment	16	29	17	11	4	17
16 th	Jacob Smell	25	19	29	8	7	20
17 th	Severus Deegert	17	28	16	25	26	11
18 th	William Gokernool	29	20	27	2	23	8
19 th	Johannes Empe	3	12	4	16	18	2
20 th	John Lawyer	28	21	22	21	5	10
21 st	Martin Seyfert	20	16	25	12	23	9
22 nd	Gardner Schepfer	14	2	15	1	27	27
23 rd	Johannes Smell	22	18	26	19	3	7
24 th	Johannes Grand	12	4	9	6	28	16
25 th	William Fox	18	27	19	22	29	26
26 th	Handraus Le Seiman	23	20	20	3	5	22
27 th	Yobala Garloir	10	0	11	7	19	25
28 th	Clas Garloir	6	15	6	29	9	13
29 th	Warner Peggari	21	7	24	14	16	23
30 th	The western part of the 10th allotment was sold, made by John, Jacob Smell, and Richard Gokernool	16	-	-	-	-	-

then being made to get more Palatine immigrants for the Bern Land Company in the Carolinas. And the London Board of Trade was attempting to find a staple product for its northern colonies "comparable to tobacco and rice in the southern colonies", and at the same time to divert Americans from the manufacture of woolen, linen and other manufactured goods. In order to expedite the production of tar and naval stores a bounty had been voted in 1705. This act also forbid the cutting of pitch pine trees "under the growth of twelve inches in diameter". It was reasoned that this development of the raw resources of the colonies would relieve the British government of the dangerous dependence on foreign countries for the much needed naval stores which dependence threatened England's dominance of the seas.

The London Board of Trade based their deliberations on the reports of John Bridger, British Surveyor of Woods in the Colonies; letters of Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont and Provincial Governor of New York in 1698; Edward Randolph, Surveyor of Customs in America; Col. Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York in 1693, and Sir Matthew Dudley, an English merchant familiar with the Province of New York. All of these advisors were ill-informed as to the tar content of the northern white pine. Plans, however, for the manufacture of naval stores in the Province of New York went forward.

On November 4th, 1709, John Spencer, Earl of Sunderland and Secretary of State, notified the Commissioners of Transport to prepare two men-of-war as a convoy for 3,000 Palatines to be sent to the Province of New York. It had taken over two months for the Board of Trade to reach a decision on locating the Palatines while the expense of maintaining them was daily mounting. The President of the Province of New York Council was also notified at the same time and "assured that the expenses of the settlement of the Palatines would be taken care of in England."

Then the London Board of Trade made what seems now a very strange entry in their minutes, that "in the process of time by marrying Indians they (the Palatines) may be capable of

rendering great service to Her Majesty's subjects." It is true that the French and Dutch traders made many marital and other alliances with the Indians, and the English colonists too, to some extent, but in this inter-marrying of the Palatines and the Indians the London Board of Trade was to be hopelessly disappointed, for the Palatines made less of these alliances with the aborigines than any other pioneer group.

The plan to settle the Palatines in New York was adopted by the London Board of Trade on November 12th, 1709. Then Robert Hunter, the newly appointed Governor of the Province of New York, expressed fears that after arriving in New York the Palatines might be lured away from the naval stores project, and asked the Board to place the Palatines under contract, something that was not done in settling any other Palatine group. This resulted in James Montague, the British Attorney General, preparing the Covenant of 1709, the interpretation of which resulted in much controversy.*

THE WEAK DEFENSES OF THE NEW YORK FRONTIER

The raids of the French and their Indian allies (Algonquin and Huron) on the New York frontier at this time were frequent and very destructive. And of the Indian allies of the English, the Iroquois Confederacy, especially the Senecas (half of the fighting strength of the Long House) were disposed to ally themselves with the French. This was a very serious threat to the English dominance of New York and to the valuable fur trade; also, the Province was in danger of being cut in two down to the Mohawk River, and the northern part of the Province being made into permanent French territory. Frontenac, the French Governor of Canada, wrote home: "The capture of New York would contribute more to the security of the colony (Canada) than the capture of Boston."

There were then the heavy expenses of maintaining the Palatines in England, the acute need of naval stores, the weak condition of the New York frontier and the imminent loss of the fur

* For other version, see *Knittle*, pp. 140, 141.

trade. All of these pressing problems were before the British Cabinet for solution. The settlement of the Palatines in New York seemed to the British Cabinet the answer to their problems of finance, naval stores, provincial defense and the retention of the great fur trade. And to the Palatines in London it seemed that their settlement in New York would be an escape from the untold miseries of war and persecution which they had suffered. In this, however, the Palatines were to be sadly disappointed.

Queen Anne approved the plan of sending the Palatines to New York on January 11th, 1710, not of sending them to Jamaica, as at one time had been planned. The London Board of Trade made no request for a contract binding the Palatines to engage in producing naval stores. That was an idea of the new Governor, Robert Hunter. The Covenant of 1709 made the Palatines indentured servants of the Crown. It was read and explained to them in the German language before they signed it. And many of them declared later that the copy read and explained to them in London was not the same copy that was read to them two years later at Livingston Manor. There has always been a great diversity of opinion on its interpretation. With the differences in racial background and language it is doubtful if there was ever the meeting of minds necessary in any real contract.

Unfortunately for the Palatines the selection of a site for the settlement of the Palatines was left to Governor Hunter, although four locations were suggested to him by the London Board of Trade as being available, these were "extravagant grants" that had been vacated because the grantees had not complied with the terms of the grants. One such site was on the Mohawk River above Cohoes Falls; another on the Schoharie River; a third on the east side of the Hudson River, and a fourth on the west side of the Hudson.

The London Covenant was manifestly unfair to the Palatines for it specified no definite length of service. And later, fees, expenses and salaries of many New York Provincial officials were paid from the original parliamentary appropriation or budget which the Covenant did not authorize. Demurrage and

transportation costs occasioned by the delay in leaving England rose to the amount of 26,000 pounds and to this extent reduced the parliamentary appropriation for settlement purposes by at least 7,000 pounds. To this was added the cost of "600 tents and 600 firelocks with bayonets and ammunition."

This supply of arms and ammunition cost 1,479 pounds and 12 shillings. "In fact 9,384 pounds worth of supplies were laid out by the ordinance department without parliamentary provision for the same." All of these expenses no doubt were necessary, but special appropriations by Parliament should have been made for them as they reduced the funds needed for settlement. Many of these additional expenses were contracted after the signature of the Covenant by the representatives of the Palatines. The contract had in fact been broken before the convoy sailed for America.

THE LARGEST GROUP OF IMMIGRANTS JOHN PETER ZENGER

The ten immigrant ships, to carry 3,000 Palatines — the largest single group to come to America from Europe before the Revolutionary War — with supplies, provisions and equipment, reported at the Buoy of the Nore, fifty miles from London, the last week in December 1709. The vessel owners were to receive five pounds and sixteen shillings for each person transported to New York, an unusually low rate. There are many conflicting accounts as to the sailing date. Conrad Weiser wrote in his diary years later that "about Christmas Day we embarked."

Henry Bendysh, who had the transportation contract, agreed that January 2nd should be the sailing date. Pastor Tribbeko did not preach the embarkation sermon at St. Catharine's Church in London until January 20th. The Queen did not sign the instructions to Governor Hunter until January 26th. Other authorities say that the actual sailing date from Portsmouth and Plymouth, due to the failure of the two vessels of the navy convoy to report on time, did not take place until April 10th, 1710. There can be little doubt that the Palatines were held on board two or three months before the actual sailing.

The story of the Indian Sachems who accompanied Peter Schuyler and his brother Captain John Schuyler, both of Albany, to London in 1710, and witnessing the distress at the Palatine Camps, did then and there offer their Schoharie lands to Queen Anne for the settlement of the Palatines, has been much discussed. One historian has assailed the story as a myth for the reason that the Palatines coming to New York were already on board the ships when the Indian Sachems arrived in England ignoring the fact that there were plenty of Palatines still left in London and that there was continual contact up to the sailing date between the Palatine ships and the British officials in London.

Chronicles of the sailing of the Palatines have not given us a list of the names of the immigrant ships in this convoy but there are indications that the *Globe*, *Berkley Castle*, *Bedford*, *Lyon* and *Herbert* were among the number. Because of the exceptional low transportation rate the ships were greatly overcrowded. The ships in this convoy were each about 400 tons burden, nearly five times larger than the ships of Poutrincourt, Champlain and Hudson, when they came to these Northeastern shores a hundred years before. The foul air, vermin, little sunlight and exercise, poor food and lack of good drinking water soon caused many on board to fall ill. Eighty deaths were reported in one ship and a hundred sick in another before leaving Portsmouth.

The Palatine ships soon became ravaged with fever, typhus and other ailments which, with almost no provision for elementary sanitation, caused the death of a great number of immigrants. Thomas Benson, a surgeon, reported that at one time 330 persons had been sick on his ship. An ocean voyage to America in 1710 was a long tedious experience, even in the summer season with helpful winds and good weather. In rough winter weather the passengers were jostled about, became seasick, their bunks drenched with sea water, their minds were disturbed by the thoughts of the imminence of shipwreck, burial at sea, or perhaps being devoured in the maw of some sea monster. To make matters worse the immigrants were obliged to eat wormy sea biscuits, old salt meat or rice boiled in larva-filled

water and to drink foul cask water when they were unable to catch fresh rain water from the sails.

The *Lyon*, the first ship to arrive in New York harbor, docked at Nutten Island, now Governor's Island, on June 13th 1710. Governor Hunter landed the next day from the *Bedford*. The last ship did not arrive until August 2nd. The *Herbert* was wrecked on Block Island and much of its cargo of supplies damaged. Governor Hunter reported to Lord Godolphin, the British Treasurer, on October 24th 1710, that of the 2,814 Palatines who had boarded the ships in England, 446 had die on the way over and that 250 more were buried during the latter part of the summer. Such were the devastating effects of a winter voyage on the Atlantic. The entire population of the Province was only 20,000 souls at that time.

In Whittier's poem "The Palatine" the wreck of the ship, loaded with supplies and equipment, on Block Island at the easterly end of Long Island Sound, is immortalized.

*"Into the teeth of death she sped:
 (May God forgive the hands that fed
 The false lights over the rocky Head!)
 But the year went round, and when once more,
 Along their foam-white curves of shore,
 They heard the line storm rave and roar,
 Behold! again with shimmer and shine,
 Over the rocks and the seething brine,
 The flaming wreck of the Palatine!
 For still, on many a moonless night,
 From Kingston Head and from Montauk light,
 The specter kindles and burns in sight.
 Now low and dim, now clear and higher,
 Leaps up the terrible Ghost of Fire,
 Then, slowly sinking, the flames expire.
 And the wise Sound skippers, though skies be fine,
 Reef their sails when they see the sign
 Of the blazing wreck of the Palatine!"*

New York City contained less than 6,000 white inhabitants. The New York City Council protested the reception of so many diseased persons at the regular docks of the city so the Palatines were landed and encamped on Nutten Island pending their disposition to other locations. Drs. John C. Kurtz and John P. Ruger



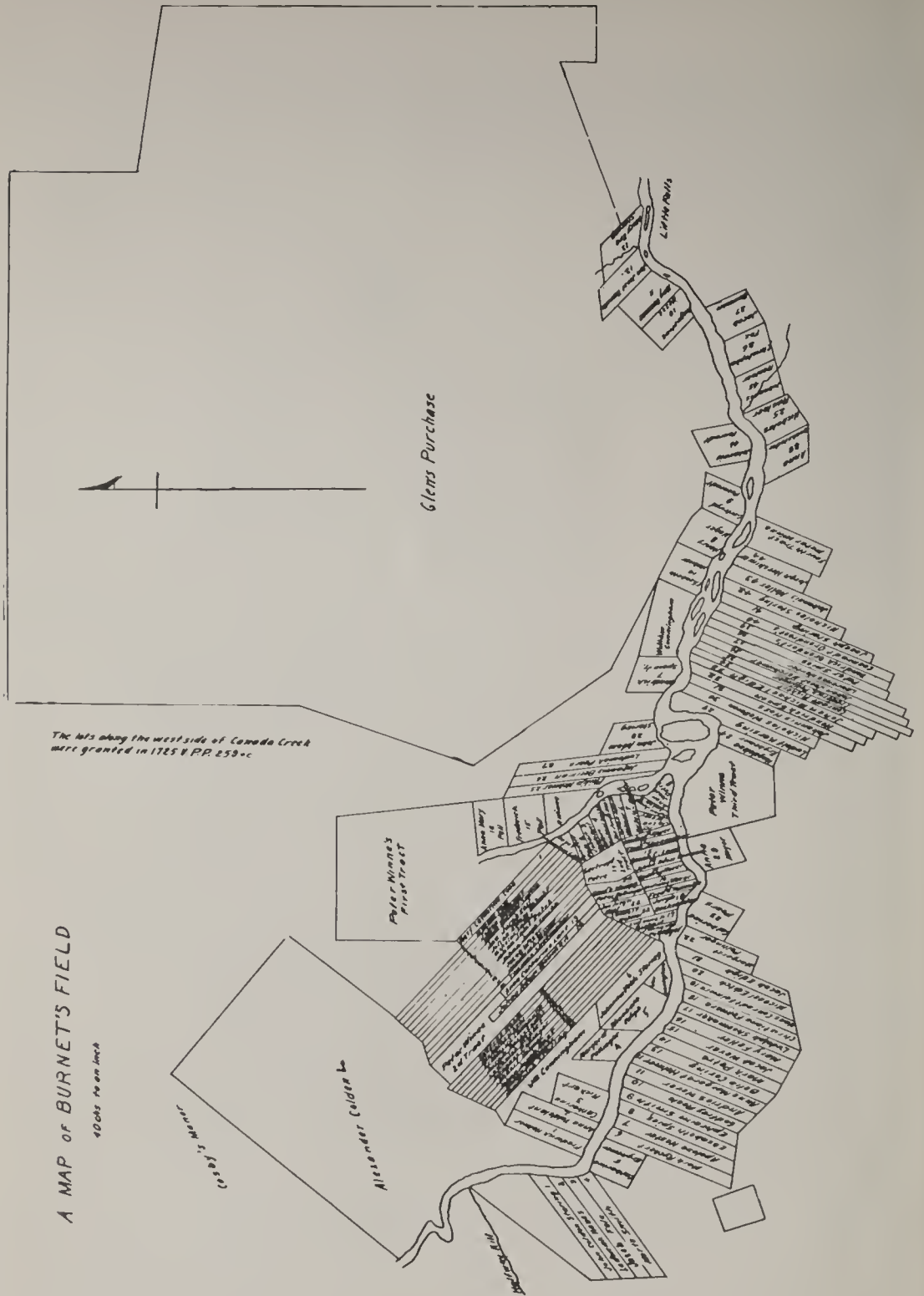
FORT HERKIMER REFORMED CHURCH

were in constant attendance on the Palatines and made reports to the City Council. It is estimated that about one-fifth of all the immigrant passengers on these early ships died en route or shortly afterwards from the rigors of a voyage to America.

Thirty children had been born on the sea en route to New York and seventy-four children were made orphans. Governor Hunter "bound out" or apprenticed the orphans and also many of the children whose parents were still living or at least one of them. This caused bitter resentment against the Governor and is listed as one of their grievances in their petition to the Lord Justices Court. Among the orphans apprenticed was John Peter Zenger to William Bradford, New York's first printer and newspaper publisher. Bradford was a kindly Christian man and gave Zenger a good home and a very good education for those days. A Chrysler, an ancestor of Walter P. Chrysler of Chrysler Motors Corporation, was also "bound out".

Many years later Zenger established the second newspaper and publishing business in the Province of New York. That he became a great lover of freedom and a fearless editorial writer may be judged from an extract in his *Weekly Journal*: "We see men's deeds destroyed, judges arbitrarily displaced, new courts erected without the consent of the legislature, by which it seems to me trials by jury are taken away when the Governor pleases; men of know estates denied their votes contrary to the recent practices of the best exposition of any law."

All America was startled by such plain speaking. These ringing challenges, uttered in 1734, had never been voiced before. They aroused the ire of William Cosby, then Governor of the Province. He had Zenger arrested for libel, denied bail and even disbarred the two New York City attorneys employed to defend him from the practice of law. It was at this juncture that the elderly and distinguished Scotch attorney, Andrew Hamilton, was brought from Philadelphia to defend Zenger. After nearly a year in jail, Zenger was brought to trial before Judge Delancey, and in spite of the Court's charge to the contrary, was acquitted by the jury. Attorney Hamilton in his summation declared: "The question before the Court, and you gentlemen of the jury,



MAP OF BURNETS FIELD PATENT
January 17th, 1723

is not of small nor private concern, it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are trying! No! it may in its consequences affect every free man that lives under a British government on the Main of America!"

Prophetic words! And let it be remembered that this was more than forty years before Tom Paine wrote the "Common Sense" or Jefferson had penned the Declaration of Independence. That night after the acquittal of Zenger, New York City engaged in a wild demonstration of joy. The Palatine orphan became the father of the freedom of the press in America. Specimens of John Peter Zenger's handwriting were among the most interesting manuscripts exhibited by the New York State Freedom Train during 1950-'51.

No specific grant of land was ever made to the Palatines by the London Board of Trade or the New York Provincial Council during Governor Hunter's administration. The Governor, immediately after landing in 1710, set about the problem of locating the Palatines. Although Hunter was well educated for his day, came from a reputable Scotch family and had spent long years in the army, he lacked political experience and business training to handle successfully such an enterprise as the naval stores project.

Then, unfortunately, Governor Hunter soon fell under the grasping influence of Robert Livingston, the Patroon, one of the most unscrupulous men in the early history of New York. It has been repeatedly alleged, but never proven, that Livingston was a silent partner of the notorious pirate Captain Kidd. Added to this, Governor Hunter evolved a spirit of animosity toward the Palatines that developed into rank injustice, arbitrary and tactless conduct that ill became the representative of the Crown in the Province of New York. Because the project that he had fathered failed, he regarded the Palatines as the sole cause of the failure, regardless of the frittering away of the parliamentary appropriation, the want of technical skill to direct the work, and the lack of good business administration. Although the tar content of the northern white pine was lacking, ship masts, much needed in England, could have been produced in paying quanti-

ties. The desertion of the Palatines by the British government after locating them in the New York wilderness is a blot on the British rule in the Province of New York.

LOCATING THE TAR CAMPS

John Bridger, the Surveyor of Woods, who was to instruct the Palatines in the art of tar making, it is claimed, was actually in the service of Robert Livingston. Bridger reported that the pine trees in the Schoharie Valley lacked pitch, which was in conflict with another earlier report to the London Board of Trade. He also reported that the pine trees of the Mohawk Valley only had a limited amount of pitch. Governor Hunter decided not to locate the Palatines in either of these valleys because it was impossible to defend these locations from the French and their Indian allies, and for the further reason that there was a sixty-foot waterfall (Cohoes) on the Mohawk River below the proposed naval stores sites. This waterfall would interfere with navigation to and from the proposed camp sites.

Governor Hunter took over 6,300 acres of land on the west side of the Hudson River that had been reclaimed by the Crown from the voiding of "extravagant grants." These grants centered around present day West Camp and Saugerties, not far from Catskill. In addition Hunter purchased 6,000 acres of Livingston, the Patroon, on the east side of the Hudson River in the vicinity of Germantown in Columbia County and Rhinebeck in Dutchess County. There had been some question about the legality of the Livingston grant issued in 1686 of "16 miles long and 24 broad" containing 160,240 acres of land. Governor Hunter immediately silenced these questions by having the Council issue a new confirmatory grant to Livingston which also gave his patroonship a seat in the New York Provincial Assembly for the first time.

This was the beginning of a struggle that lasted for 170 years in New York against a feudal land policy, a condition that is not found in any other American colony. Hunter also purchased for Palatine use a tract of 800 acres of land of Thomas Fullerton, a British customs official, near the Livingston tract. These three tracts, totaling 13,100 acres, were to be used for the proposed



EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF ST. PETER THE
APOSTLE OF RHINEBECK, ORGANIZED IN 1715
— THIS CHURCH ERECTED IN 1786.

naval stores project and for the Palatine settlements. This would have given each person at the Hudson camps about seven acres of land, far short of the forty acres promised in the London Covenant.

The movement of 1874 able-bodied Palatines from Nutten Island (Governor's) to the proposed naval stores base at Livingston Manor (Hudson), ninety-two miles up the Hudson River, began in October 1710. James DuPre, Commissary of Stores, writing from New York City to the London Board of Trade in November 1711 said that the number of Palatines engaged in the naval stores project was about 2,200. This transportation from New York City to Livingston Manor cost 200 pounds. A fairly large number of Palatines remained in New York City. Cobb says there were more than 400, mostly "widows, single women, and children, unfit for the great and good design of making tar and pitch." This group in a few years built a Lutheran Church, near where Trinity Church now stands. This Lutheran Church was destroyed by fire in 1776.

On arrival at Jensen's Kill at Livingston Manor on the east bank of the Hudson at the naval stores base, lots for cabins, yards and gardens of forty feet frontage and fifty feet in depth were assigned to each family, showing that those in charge of the project did not expect the Palatines to do much gardening or raising of vegetables for their own use, as the Palatines had planned to do. The cabins at Livingston Manor were small log cabins with the logs laid horizontally with the interstices filled with clay. They were heated by fireplaces and chimneys built of field stone and clay. Wood for fuel was plentiful.

Ulrich Simmendinger wrote in his register: "We began to erect cabins, which everyone fashioned according to his own invention and architecture." Conrad Weiser's diary says that the cooking was done in large outside community stone ovens. House furniture, tables and chairs were carved out of the forest timber. The assignment to each family of such a small plot of ground seemed like an insult to these men who had been among the best farmers in Europe. The records show that about half of the New York Palatine men were farmers, and the others



COLONEL CONRAD WEISER AS A YOUNG MAN.

FROM AN OIL PAINTING ON WOOD, FOR MANY YEARS IN THE WEISER FAMILY.
LAST IN POSSESSION OF REV. C. Z. WEISER, D. D., DECEASED, AND BY HIM ASSERTED
TO BE AUTHENTIC.

were carpenters, blacksmiths, schoolmasters, weavers, brick-makers, bakers, millers, masons, coopers, tailors, vinedressers, herdsmen, shoemakers, butchers, brewers, tanners, wheelwrights, stonecutters, silversmiths, saddlers, locksmiths, joiners, bookbinders, tilemakers, surgeons, hatters and gardeners. All the men of these trades, no doubt, were soon brought into use.

We are not informed by the chronicles of that day as to what the Palatines used for roofs on their log cabins. These were log cabins, not the larger log houses built in later years. There are no reports or records of disastrous fires at Livingston Manor as there were among the Dutch thatched houses on Manhattan Island. So it may be presumed that at first the Palatines copied the Indians and used elm bark or sod, or they used "shakes", thick shingles split from blocks of wood, for their cabin roofs, as they were known to use in later years. Livingston received a profitable contract for tools, supplies, and for feeding the Palatines. The food was doled out in the same quantity per person as given to an English soldier in transit. Some beef was purchased in New York City. The portions were small and the quality of the food was poor.

Jean Cast, the Assistant Commissary, wrote Governor Hunter in May 1711: "I never saw salted meat so poor nor packed with so much salt as this pork was. In truth one-eighth of it was salt." The ration was just about enough to keep body and soul together and not sufficient for men engaged in the hard physical work of cutting down trees, trimming them, piling them, and placing them for burning for the pitch they contained. The horses and wagons used in these operations were rented of Livingston.

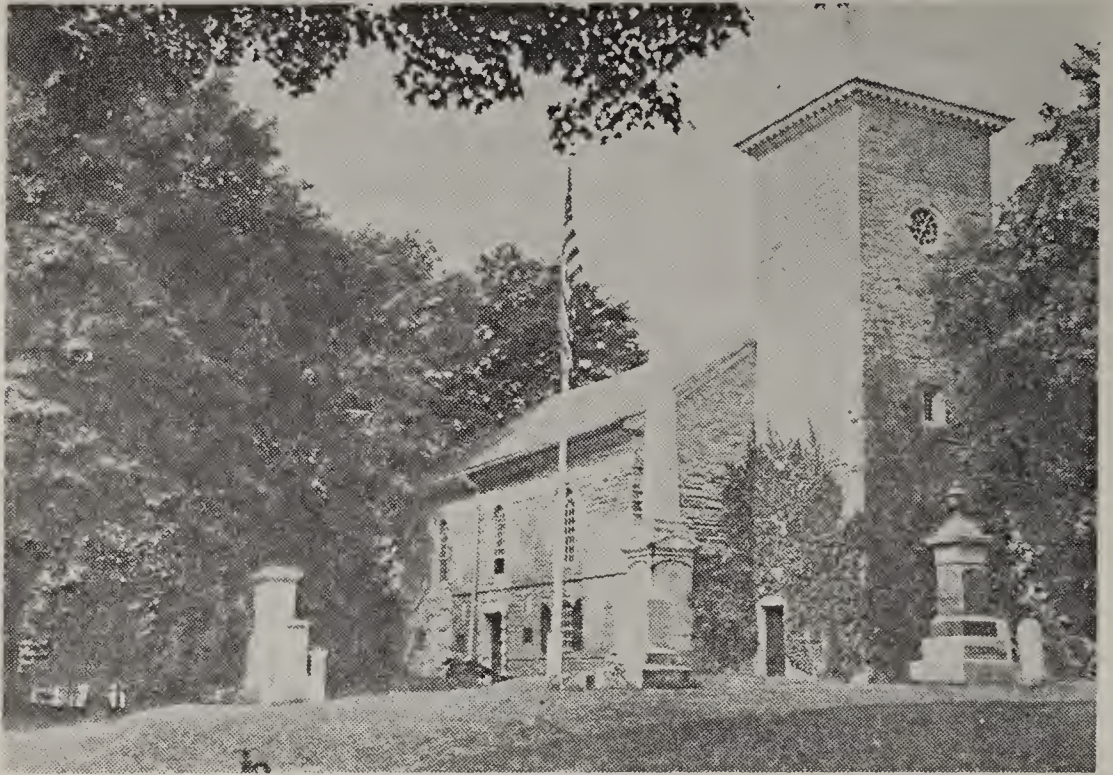
Much of the equipment and supplies that had been promised by Livingston was still lacking in mid-summer of 1711, such as steel for mending edge tools, three runs of millstones, whipsaws, plowshares, pitch-forks, iron for nails, and horseshoes and leather for footwear and horse harness. Also every Monday thirty-six men were withdrawn from the project to help the carpenters build warehouses and to help the coopers make tar barrels. And again Cast wrote Hunter about the tare of sixteen

pounds, marked on the flour barrels by Livingston and his agents, when most of the barrels, after emptying, weighed twenty and twenty-one pounds. "This", declared Cast, "is carrying things to extremes."

The production of naval stores was further delayed by the abortive British expedition of 1711 against the French in Canada. Governor Hunter became very enthusiastic about this expedition. It had been planned that the fleet would co-operate with the land forces, but when it was learned that the fleet would not support them, the land forces marched back home. Palatines had participated willingly in this expedition, the second of the Provincial government against Canada, for the reason that they thought their future settlement at Schoharie would be safer by the taking of Canada. The destruction of Schenectady was then a vivid memory on the frontier, having occurred some twenty years before.

Many of the 300 Palatine men who participated in the Canadian military expedition were again diverted from the naval stores project after they had returned home and they were sent to Albany on military duty in anticipation of a threatened attack on that city by the French and Canadian Indians. John Bridger, who was familiar with tar making, failed to arrive at Livingston Manor to direct the work. Richard Sackett, a farmer, with only a limited experience in tar making, was placed in charge of the project by Governor Hunter.

About 100,000 trees were barked during the summer of 1711. But the substitution of Sackett for Bridger to direct the tar making project aroused the London Board of Trade. They made an investigation into the methods used in Russia and found that the trees should have been barked eight feet up from the ground in October when the sap was flowing toward the roots, and that a strip four inches wide should have been left on the north side of the trees in which the pitch would have settled. And a great mistake had been made in assuming that the white pine (*pinus strobus*) of New York would produce tar and turpentine in quality and quantity like the hard pine (*pinus palustris*) of Georgia and the Carolinas. There was, however, a pitch pine (*pinus*



OLD STONE FORT AT SCHOHARIE — FORMERLY A
DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

rigida) on the sandy rocky hills of Livingston Manor, back from the Hudson River, which had sufficient pitch quantities to give the project something of a start; 200 barrels of tar were extracted from the 100,000 trees felled. It was a small amount for the number of trees and of poor quality.

Trouble was brewing at the naval stores project. The work was very distasteful to the Palatines. Pastor Kocherthal notified the authorities that the Palatines had been promised good land, that the system of vassalage now imposed on them was an outrage. The Palatines also charged that the contract, then re-read to them, was not the same contract which had been read and explained to them in London and which they had signed. The Governor then ordered a company of soldiers to be stationed at the camps and appointed a council to take charge of the government of the Palatines. This council consisted of Robert Livingston, Richard Sackett, Jean Cast, Gottfried Wulfen, Andreas Bugge and Herman Schunemann. Three of this council, provided Livingston or Sackett were present, had the right to inflict punishment for disobedience or misdemeanors, even to the extent of corporal chastisement and imprisonment.

All these things slowed down the work of producing naval stores. And it is well to record the fact that in the Canadian expedition of 1711 the New York quota of the military forces consisted of 300 Palatines, 350 "Christians" and 150 Indians. This is the first time that the Palatines had served in the same military effort with the Indians. The Palatine men received no pay, the womenfolk and children received no rations, and when the men returned home they were deprived of their weapons. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that soils where the Palatines were located on the east side of the Hudson were very poor. These Palatine farmers were very partial to limestone sub-soils. It has been said that these German immigrants could smell limestone from the tidewater where they landed in coming to America. Later they found plenty of that kind of soil in the Hudson, Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. Their love of land and their love of God was never very far apart. They sowed the fields "in His name."



PARSONAGE OF REV. PETER NICHOLAS SUMMER
AT SCHOHARIE – BUILT IN 1743

THE FAILURE OF THE NAVAL STORES PROJECT

By the spring of 1712 Governor Hunter became alarmed by the failure of the British government to pay any of the bills forwarded to London for expenses in operating the naval stores project, the original funds voted by Parliament being exhausted. The failure to pay these expenses was due to the loss of control of the treasury by the Whig party in the parliamentary elections of 1710. In the parliamentary investigation of 1711 by the Tory party it was revealed that over 100,000 pounds had been expended in various ways on the Palatines. The Tory party controlled House of Commons passed a resolution stating "that the inviting and bringing over into this kingdom of the Palatines, of all religions, at public expense, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to this kingdom, and a scandalous misappropriation of the public money."

By this time Governor Hunter, having unlimited faith in the naval stores venture, had advanced over 20,000 pounds of his private fortune in keeping the project in operation. There was then actually due the Governor 20,769 pounds sterling, a very sizeable fortune in those days. Although the Governor's finances were in bad shape in 1712, he did receive some relief in 1715 from the New York Provincial Assembly by the payment of his back salary for five years, and 1,376 pounds from the sale of unused supplies of the unsuccessful naval stores project. By this time the Tory party leaders were declaring that the whole Palatine affair was a scheme against the Established Church of England to increase the numbers and strength of the dissenters in the Kingdom. Thus the Palatines continued to be the football of British politics.

The finances at the naval stores project were not well supervised, neither were the funds always applied to the main objective. There was an unusual number of officials and all were paid out of the parliamentary appropriation. James DuPre was a Commissary in London; Robert Livingston, a Deputy Commissary; and Jean Cast and Andrew Bagge, Assistant Commissaries, at Livingston Manor; two surgeons; two overseers; two clerks;

six captains and lieutenants; four nurses — and all were paid a salary. The organization of the workers and families followed the lines of a military unit.

There were also seven unpaid Palatine “listmasters.” They were John Peter Kniskern for Hunterstown; John Conrad Weiser for Queensbury; Hartman Windecker for Annsbury; John Christopher Fuchs (Fox) for Haysbury; John Christopher Gerloch for Elizabethtown; George Manch for Georgetown; and Peter Grauberger for Newtown. The “listmasters” were to keep the census rolls of their respective villages and report all unlawful acts and delinquencies. These “listmasters”, village head-men, with the two clergymen, Kocherthal and Haeger (Hager), were the constant leaders and advisors of the Palatines. They tried their best to protect their people from the depredations of as great an unprincipled bunch of rogues as New York ever possessed.

RHINEBECK AND THE SCHOHARIE MIGRATIONS

The announcement of the cessation of work and subsistence was like the explosion of a bombshell to the Palatines. Many of them doubted their ability to provide food for their families during the approaching winter. Something had to be done at once. Thirty families purchased lands of Henry Beekman in fee simple and moved southward near present day Rhinebeck. These families in a few years were in good circumstances. The following families were among the first settlers at Rhinebeck and Germantown: Hahner, Schufeld, Hagedorn, Wiederwachs, Staats, Berner, Elsasser, Coon (Kuhn), Coons (Kuntz), Schutts (Schutz), Shoemaker (Schumacher), Snyder (Schneider), Smith (Schmidt), Freats (Fritz, Shufelt (Schufeld), Meghley (Michle), Younghance (Junghans), Wagenaer (Wagener). Those remaining where Hunter had placed them, suffered from the lack of food supplies during the winter of 1712-13. Rev. Haeger wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that “they boil grass and the children eat the leaves of trees. Several have for a whole week together had nothing but welsh turnips which they did only scrape and eat without any salt or

fat and bread." This group was soon in debt to Livingston. Of those remaining on this tract purchased of Livingston by Governor Hunter, sixty-three families received Provincial title deeds to the lands they occupied in 1725 after a new Governor had been appointed.

Those receiving deeds at Livingston Manor were: Jacob Scherb, Christoffel Hagendorn, Jacob Shumacher, Christian Haver, Pfilbs Bernert, Peter Stobelbein, Johannes Blas, Peter Pfilibs, Johannes Kollman, Johannes Shuck, Peter Ham, William Hagendorn, Olig Winiger, Johan Peter Lauer, Davit Kissler, Paulus Dirk, Bernhart Schmed, Kilian Minckler, Henry Hoffman, Herman Betzer, Hanna Man Sallbach, Peter Lamp Mann, Jacob Berjer, Peter Hagendorn, Christ Dietrig, Pfilibs Finikel, Nichlas Hes, Johannes Hoe Mier, Christian Muhlers Wittib, Pfilibs Scheffer, Andres Domes, Christian Dethrig, Olig Jacobi, Samuel Muckler, Henrig Bardel, Henrig Haeudorn, Bernent Zieberls, Friedrig Raug, Willm Hanbuch, Johanes Leuck, Bastian Lesche, Henrig Winder, Johannes Dat, Samel Kun, Henrig Stals Wittib, Jones Schenckels, Johanes Henrig Conrad, Joery Muhler, Adam Hoff, Davit Schantzen Wittib, Joreg Muchler, Anna Cathriockelbe, Joery Schoertz, Johannes Schoffer, Olig Bernat, Andries Bartel, Johanes Klein, Hans Peter Philip, Johannes Heener.

Some of these Palatines at Livingston Manor went to Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York City. Others deputized seven of their "listmasters", piloted by Johannes Meynderton of Schenectady and Chief Quaynant of the Mohawks, to visit the Lower Castle near Fort Hunter in the Mohawk Valley and the Schoharie Valley and see if arrangements could be made with the Indians for a permanent settlement. Happily for the Palatines such arrangements were made with the Karighondonte Tribe of Schoharie at their principle village at the base of Mount Onistragrawa with the approval of the Mohawk Sachems, this tribe being a subject tribe of the Mohawk nation. The Palatine deputies contracted for land running "down the river to the north, on both sides, a distance of ten miles", probably about ten thousand acres beginning near the present day village of Middleburgh



ONLY KNOWN PICTURE OF THE STONE ARABIA CHURCH
(Destroyed by Sir John Johnson October 19, 1780).

The above drawing was executed on a powder horn by the artist T. F. which stands for Timothy Frank. The horn is in possession of Frank D. Deuel, genealogist of Schenectady, who kindly made the sketch from the horn. While dated 1753 Mr. Deuel thinks it was carved a few years later as on one side is shown Fort Stanwix which was built 1758. The view of "Stonrapie" includes the church which was destroyed in 1780 by Sir John Johnson and is the only known picture of that early edifice. The sketch is allegorical in that it implies distance without regard to actual distances. The bird over the church indicated north and south by its wings. The bush indicates a trail and the lower house near the river may be the Frey house and the upper house near the river the Ehle house. The house to the northeast may be Johnson Hall or Johnstown and the bush indicates a trail between the two. Mr. Deuel says: "My great grandmother Catharine Folts Dygert, born 1778 was a step daughter of Timothy Frank who married her mother Anna Dygert Folts, widow of Conrad J. Folts as his second wife.—From the St. Johnsville (N. Y.) Enterprise, February 4, 1931.

and running down the Schoharie River to below present day Central Bridge.

Conrad Weiser's private journal says: "The valley was opened for their entrance for the consideration of \$300.00", Spanish money. As soon as the "listmasters" returned with a favorable report fifty families migrated immediately to the Schoharie Valley and made the first white settlement at Weiserdorf, now Middleburgh. In the spring of 1713 one hundred and fifty more families removed from the Hudson to the Schoharie Valley and founded other dorfs or hamlets north of Weiserdorf. And other families continued to join them until there were seven Schoharie dorfs or settlements, the last being Kniskernsdorf, settled about 1729. All of these dorfs or hamlets were in a row close to each other, about two miles apart. Whether they followed this plan because of the closeness of the villages in their native Palatinate or for protection and help to each other in case of an Indian attack is now unknown, but the Palatines did know that other settlements had been attacked so the closeness of their dorf-hamlets gave each dorf a sense of security.

One reputable historian says that for years many individuals and families landed at the Port of Philadelphia and via the Delaware and Susquehanna River trails traveled to the Hudson, Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys to seek and join friends and relatives who had preceded them to the new world.

Governor Hunter had warned the Palatines against going to the Schoharie Valley but he was powerless to prevent it. On October 31st, 1712, he wrote the London Board of Trade, "some hundreds of them (Palatines) took a resolution of possessing the land of Schoharee (Schoharie) and are accordingly marched thither." The first group of fifty families going to the Schoharie Valley in the fall of 1712 suffered untold discomforts in their crude, hastily built log cabins that first winter. And the second group of one hundred and fifty families pushed their way through the snow over the Helldenberg's in the spring of 1713 to Schoharie, also experiencing acute suffering for shelter, clothing and food. The term "Schoharie" generally referred to the entire middle section of the valley until after the Revolution, and

not to just the area around the present village of Schoharie. The Mohawk word "To-wos-scho-hor", or Schoharie, means a bridge of driftwood over the river. Such a bridge was used for years by the Indians before the coming of white men south of present day Middleburgh.

All of the first groups moving to the Schoharie Valley were handicapped for years by the lack of iron tools and domestic animals. And there was a great lack of food the first and second winters. They received considerable aid from the Indians, the churches in New York City and Albany and from the good people of Schenectady. The hills of the valley were full of game and the same hills furnished wild berries and nuts in season, but in the second planting season after their arrival the corn produced so well in the virgin soil from the seed that the Indians had given them that they never were in dire straits for food again.

Their clothing for years was made from the skins of deer, until they grew flax and made linen cloth, or raised sheep and made woolen cloth, and for their footwear they used buckskins for moccasins before shoe leather was available. It is doubtful if there was a tannery or a shoemaker in the Schoharie Valley before the Revolution. Their interior lighting came from the fireplace and pitch pine knots and years later from tallow dips.

The Palatine pioneer families were notably prolific. Within two weeks after their arrival at Weiserdorf in 1712 four children were born. They were "Catharina Mattheus, Elizabetha Lawer, Wilhemus Bach and Johannes Erhardt," according to the old records. Although the birth rate was high the mortality of the children and elderly was also high during the first years of the Palatines in the Province of New York. The "Wilhemus Bauch" referred to above was the grandfather of Governor William C. Bouck.

Conrad Weiser wrote in his diary: "Here the people lived for years without a preacher, without government, generally in peace. Each did what he thought was right." This was accomplished because the Palatines had great respect for their village "listmasters", originally chosen in the Hudson Valley.

The elderly John Conrad Weiser, father of the later famous Conrad Weiser, had been a magistrate, like several of his ancestors, in Wurttemberg, Germany. He was their most active and devout leader, who often conducted religious services as a lay reader in the absence of an ordained clergyman.

Tradition has it that Elias Garloch was the only magistrate in the Schoharie Valley for many years, and that his writ given to the constable was his jackknife with a verbal designation of the day and hour the defendant was to appear in justice court. If there were two people to serve the justice used his tobacco box for the second writ. It is said that no defendant ever failed to appear at the appointed time with the jackknife or tobacco box. Whether the justices of the peace were chosen by the people in each settlement or appointed by the Governor at the time is not now definitely known.

The Dutch and English settlers regarded the Palatines as ignorant. This was doubtless due to the fact that for three generations after settlement the Palatines did not use the English language and kept much to themselves; in almost every business deal they had with the English and Dutch they felt they had been unjustly tricked and wanted no dealings with them. The English language and the English legal procedure, were obstacles to their relations for years.

REPURCHASE OR EVACUATE

On November 3rd, 1714, Governor Hunter sold the Schoharie lands which the Palatines had bought of the Indians to Myndert Schuyler, Peter Van Brugh, Robert Livingston, Jr., John Schuyler, and Peter Wileman, all of whom were in reality land speculators. Later it was discovered by Lewis Morris, Jr., and Andrus Coeman, Provincial Surveyors, that the flats along Fox's Creek and along the Schoharie River opposite present day Central Bridge had not been included in the sale to the land speculators. These two surveyors immediately applied for a patent of these free lands and received grants. They joined the land speculators and made common cause in defending their purchases and from this time on these two groups became known as



GENERAL HERKIMER AT THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY
AUGUST 6, 1777

“The Seven Partners.” Governor Hunter by the sale of these lands expected to force the Palatines at Schoharie back into the Hudson Camps, or force them out on a more exposed section of the New York frontier. He even forbade them to plow or plant the ground. This they were forced to do or they would have starved. Hunter promised to send twelve men to estimate the value of their improvements and to reimburse them. This he failed to do.

When the Palatines arrived in the Schoharie Valley in 1712 they found that a goodly portion of the best flat lands along the river had been sold by the Indians in 1711 to Adam Vroman, a Schenectady fur trader. This caused considerable friction. Vroman, however, was able in 1714 to secure a legal title to his lands from the Provincial government, which he had not attempted to do until the question of a legal title was raised against the Palatines. There never was any credit or accounting given the Palatines for the work they had performed on the naval stores project and other improvements at the Hudson Camp or for their military service in 1711. The tar making project had failed through no fault of theirs, which did not absolve the British government from its pledge in the London Covenant to give each person forty acres of land. The Governor made some effort to relieve this situation by the following receipt:

On September 6th, 1712, Governor Hunter ordered Superintendent Cast to inform the Palatines that they would have to subsist themselves until further orders, his public and private credit being exhausted, but if they left the area they would have to secure a ticket of leave, registering their destination. If they left the area without complying with these formalities they would be arrested and imprisoned. They were told to hold themselves in readiness to return to work when notified. Governor Hunter expected financial relief from England and that the work then would be resumed on the naval stores project.

This abandonment of the Palatines, especially the withdrawal of the ration by the British government, is not a very creditable episode in the rule of Britain in the Province of New York. Governor Hunter was arbitrary and unfair. His policy was

visionary and vindictive toward the Palatines that was unworthy of the Crown's chief representative in the Province of New York. Why didn't he give the Palatines a confirmatory title to the lands they had purchased of the Indians as he did with Robert Livingston and Adam Vroman? The Provincial Council, with the Governor as President, ruled that an Indian title unless supported by a petition, survey and map with the approval of the Council had no standing in English law. Thus the Governor controlled the granting of all land titles.

In 1714 Nicholas Bayard, a grandson of the Bayard whose land grant in the Schoharie Valley had been voided by the Council and Queen Anne's government, visited the Palatines and offered to give anyone a deed in Queen Anne's name who would describe the boundaries of his land. This Bayard did not represent anyone but himself and his intentions are in doubt. Apparently he was laying the foundation for reclaiming the voided patent of his grandfather. He was a political enemy of the Governor but the Palatines didn't know that then. When his mission was disclosed an angry mob gathered and drove him out of the settlements. Even then he sent word back from Schenectady to the Schoharie Valley that he would give a deed to anyone sending him an ear of corn. His action annoyed both the Governor and the Palatines.

The Schoharie Palatines were called upon in 1715 to repurchase the lands that they occupied, or vacate. A Deputy Sheriff Adams was sent up to arrest John Conrad Weiser when Governor Hunter learned that Weiser was planning to go to England to plead for the Schoharie Valley lands for his people. The Governor didn't want this controversy aired in England. When the Deputy Sheriff arrived at Weiserdorf, the men were at work in the fields and woodlands, but when the women learned of the mission of the Deputy Sheriff, under the leadership of Magdalena Zeh, they pulled him from his horse and dragged him through the pools where the pigs wallowed, rode him on a rail, broke two of his ribs and left him half dead on a bridge on the road to Albany, where he was rescued.

Brigadier Robert Hunter late Capt. Gener. Governor in chief
 of the Province of New York to James Alexander my
 Attorney do hereby Release and for ever Quit Claim to
 Martin tillenbach One of the distressed Palatines -
 brought over unto the Province of New York for the
 Manufacturing: Navall Stores, all Duties & demands which
 I have from him for the money I expended by me for his
 Subsistence on his arrivall in this Province I hope
 that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to satisfy
 me for the same In Witness whereof I have hereunto
 by my attorney set my Seal this twenty third day of
 August 1722

Peter van Braugh
 Joh. Cuyler

Robert Hunter
 by James Alexander
 his Attorney

Here the matter of legal land titles rested for a year or more. The Palatines continued to plow and work the land which they had cleared of the forests at great physical effort. Although they had been forbidden to plow the land, they disregarded the order as it was the only way they could keep from starvation. In 1718 John Conrad Weiser, William Scheff and Gerhardt Walrath sailed for England from the port of Philadelphia to lay the case of the Schoharie land title controversy before the British authorities. This in spite of the fact that their good friend Queen Anne had died and a new Cabinet now controlled British policy.

Meanwhile Governor Hunter also sailed for England to see about having his bills paid for the naval stores project. When he learned of the presence of the Palatine delegation in London he opposed them at every step. Calamity dogged the steps of the delegation from the time they sailed. They were robbed by pirates on the sea and arrived in England destitute until funds were forwarded them from the Palatines on the New York frontier. Walrath became sick and sailed for home, dying en route. Scheff became discouraged and returned home and died soon after his arrival. Weiser carried the case unsuccessfully to the highest British Court, the Lord Justices Court. He returned to his Schoharie Valley home a disappointed man in November 1723. From that time on John Conrad Weiser ceased to be a leading factor in the New York Palatine affairs, being succeeded by his son Conrad. His house stood on the site of the present imposing Central School building in the village of Middleburgh.

LOOKING TOWARD THE MOHAWK

Governor Hunter while in England in 1720 resigned and William Burnet was appointed to succeed him. The new Governor arrived in the Province late in 1720 and was almost immediately contacted by the Palatine leaders about lands for settlement in the Mohawk Valley. In 1721 Governor Burnet allowed several families to purchase land of the Indians, provided it was forty miles above Fort Hunter and at least eighty miles from Albany. Both the Crown and the Provincial authorities were pushing the problem of frontier defense into the lap of the

Palatines. The French with the Canadian Indians and the aid of the Iroquois could have pushed the English into the Atlantic Ocean.

Surveys of land in the Upper Mohawk Valley by Provincial surveyors were made in 1722 and it is probable that some Palatine families began to move both from the Schoharie and Hudson Valleys that same year, under a private understanding with Governor Burnet that a legal deed would follow in due time. Some of the Schoharie Palatines had already swallowed their sense of injustice and had repurchased the land they had cleared and occupied from the Seven Partners without any allowance being made for the improvements. About sixty families wanted to settle apart and these were given permission to settle between Fort Hunter and Canada (Stone Arabia and Ephrata).

The Stone Arabia Patent is dated October 19th, 1723, and is recorded in the office of the Secretary of State, in Patents Book 9, page 83 et seq. The names of the patentees as they appear on the deeds are as follows:

Lot No.

- 14 Adam Emigen
- 17 Jacob Schnell
- 19 Mardan Dillinback
- 24 John Christian Garloack
- 25 Johannes Crouse
- 28 Sufforonias Deigert
- 33 Christian Efenink
- 34 William Coperhole
- 35 John Joost Schnell
- 36 Johannes Schnell
- 37 Andries Peiper
- 38 Andried Feink
- 39 Hans Deterick Casselman
- 40 Teobald Garlack
- 41 John Lawyer
- 42 William Nelose
- 43 Simon Erckart
- 45 Hendrick Efrey
- 46 Johannes Emigen

- 47 Warner Digart
 - 48 Bartholomew Picard
 - 49 Johannes Ingolt
 - 50 Marden Seibert
 - 51 Elias Garlack
- Lodowick Casselman
Gerhart Scaffer

“It should be observed that although there were twenty-eight partners there are only twenty-seven names of patentees. However, in a memorandum list of names (see L. P. IX p. 88) the twenty-eighth name appears as 44 Barthol Picard Junior.” This tract gave each patentee about 470 acres of land and is the area now known as the township of Palatine in Montgomery County.

Historian Simms says that an early map and survey shows a list of names not on the list of patentees and among these are the following: Johannes Keyser, Andreas Finck, Jr., Nicholas Diskard, Adam and Christian Empie, Warner Teygart, Johannes Miller, Jacob Sybers, George Houss, Better Soetts, John Schouthey, Tilleman Van Soherlyand, Hendrix Six, William Nellis and Nicholas Stensell.

The German Flatts Patent for lands on both sides of the Mohawk River was granted to ninety-two persons and consisted of 9,186 acres. The purchase of the Indian title was dated July 9th, 1722, the petition for a grant dated January 17th, 1723, and the title deed issued April 30th, 1725. The names of the patentees with their original orthography follows: John Jost Petre, Mary Eva Stareing, John Jost Temouth, Mary Breman, Augustines Hess, Philip Helmar, Frederick Pell, Mary Catharine Kons, Melgart Fols, Johan Veldelent, Adam Michael Smith, John Jurgh Kast, Jr., John Adam Helmer, Nicholas Feller, Jacob Wever, John Jurgh Smith, Hendrick Mayer, Thomas Shoemaker, Catharine Lant, John Adam Bowman, Godfrey Reelee, Nicholas Weaver, Tedrich Tetmouth, Jurgh Docksteder, Lodowick Rickart, Johannes Pellingner, Frederick Staring, Gertruyd Petri, Johannes Valden Staring, Elizabeth Edigh, Margaret Pellingner, Catharine Rickert, Anna Veldelent, Frederick Helmer, Jurgh

Erghemer, Johannes Miller, Nicholas Staring, Joseph Staring, Conrad Orendorf, Hendrick Orendorf, Peter Speis, Lawrence Herter, Johan Jost Erghemar, Frederick Pellingner, Conrad Rickert, Johan Edigh, Hendrick Spoon, Johannes Hess, Nicholas Weleven, Ludolph Horsing, Madalana Erghemar, Anna Moyer, Catharine Pears, Margaret Pellingner, Jacob Edich, Michael Editch, Hans Conrad Felmore, Christina Felmore, Ludolph Shoemaker, Mary Feller, Jacob Weaver, Jr., Godfrey Relle, Jr., Godfrey Relle, Ephraim Smith, Elizabeth Speis, Appolona Herter, Mark Ryckert, Catharine Erghemar, Morte Smith, Jacob Fols, Lodowick Kones, John Valde Staring, Jr., Lendert Helmer, Johan Jurgh Kast, Peter Pellingner, Mark Petri, Belia Koreing, Anna Margaret Helmer, Andries Wever.

The almost incomprehensible spelling of German names by English clerks will be noted.

In June 1724 Anna Kast of the Schoharie Palatines obtained a land grant for 1,000 acres on the West Canada Creek in the vicinity of Kast's Bridge above Herkimer and one of the men of this family became a well-known trader. From this German Flatts area there has been developed the prosperous towns of Little Falls, Herkimer, Mohawk, Ilion and Frankfort. The entire Upper Mohawk area was known for years as Burnetsfield in honor of the new Governor William Burnet who had dealt kindly with the pioneer Palatines. The acreage acquired in the original patent gave each family about one hundred acres of land.

Governor Keith of Pennsylvania, attending a general conference on colonial affairs at Albany in 1722 and hearing about the land title troubles in the Schoharie Valley, extended an invitation to the Palatines of New York to settle in Pennsylvania, where the government was much more democratic and more liberal terms were given immigrants arriving from Europe. On or about April 1st, 1723, about fifteen to thirty-three families, according to various records not in agreement, left the Schoharie Valley via Panther Creek, the Summit Divide, the Charlotte and Susquehanna Rivers and after a six weeks trip into the unknown wilderness arrived in the Tulpenhocken Valley in Pennsylvania



ORISKANY BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT

where they settled, founding the present day thriving cities of York and Reading. Other migrating groups of Palatines to Pennsylvania followed the same route in 1725 and 1729. Nicholas Warner of Palatine descent in 1837 assured author Simms that he had seen the stumps of the trees on the Charlotte River made into dugout canoes for the descent into Pennsylvania.

The following is a list of families from the Schoharie Valley settling in Pennsylvania by the year 1730:

Aemrich, Michgel	Lebo, Peter
Anspach, Balthaser	Lederman, Jacob
Anspach, Leonart	Long, Conrad
Barden, Martin	Lauk, Abraham
Batdorff, Martin	Lesch, Adam
Blum, Ludwig	Lesch, Georg
Boyer, Hans	Minnich, Matthias
Braun, Pfilbes	Nefs, Niclas
Brossman, Francis	Neft, Balt
Christ, Jocham Michael	Pacht, Johann Peter
Christman, Johannes	Reit, Caspar
Cushwa, Isaiah	Reit, Lenhart
Deck, Nickolaus	Reit, Georg
Diffebach, Adam	Reith, John Leonard
Diffenbach, Conrad	Reith, Peter
Ernst, Michael	Reim, Niclas
Essel, Reinhold	Reith, Michael
Etchberger, Jacob	Reith, Nicholas
Enterfelt, Johan	Reiss, Michael
Feg, Lenhart	Ruell, Niclas
Fidler, Godfrey	Sab, Joseph
Fischer, Sebastian	Schadt, Antonis
Fischer, Lawrence	Schaeffer, Johannes Claus
Fohrer, Johann	Schaffer, Fredrich
Goldman, Conrad	Schaffer, Niklas
Heckedorn, Martin	Schaeffer, Jacob
Herner, Michael Ernst	Schweffer, Peter
Holston, Leonhard	Schell, Peter
Kapp, Jacob	Schmidt, Michael
Kayser, Christopher	Schuertz, Adam
Kinzer, Nicholas	Seigner, Hans George
Kitzmuller, Jonas	Shump, Christopher
Klob, Peter	Schitz, Conrad
Kobff, Jacob	Schuchert, Johann Henrick
Korbell, Jacob	Stub, Marden
Lantz, Johannes	Stupp, Adam
Lauer, Christian	Unruh, George



OLD PARSONAGE AND CHURCH.!

SAND HILL REFORMED CHURCH AND PARSONAGE AT FORT PLAIN IN THE PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION

Walborn, Adam	Wenrich, Franz
Walborn, Andrew	Winter, Frederick
Walborn, Christina	Wynant, Nicholas
Walborn, Herman	Zeh, George
Wasserschmidt, Stephen	Zeller, Johann
Weiser, Christopher	Zerbe, Peter
Weiser, Conrad	Zerbe, Lorentz
Weiser, Michael	

There were a total of eighty-nine heads of families in the three group migrations between 1723 and 1729 and also in the individual migrations during that same period. The similarity of many family names with those of New York will be noted.

The last mentioned group in 1729 moved southward under the guidance of Conrad Weiser, who was destined to fill an important roll in pre-Revolutionary America. He had lived for seventeen years in the Schoharie Valley and had learned to speak Dutch, English and Iroquois in addition to his native German. Weiser was an official advisor of the Province of Pennsylvania on Indian affairs for over thirty years and often advised Virginia and New York at Indian conferences. He is now credited, with George Washington, with keeping the French from making permanent settlements in the Ohio River Valley. Weiser always sought to keep the five nations intact and to do business through Supreme Council. President Washington, standing at Weiser's grave, said: "Posterity will not forget him." It has not!

One shipload of Palatines arrived in New York harbor in October 1722. There is no record of their being settled elsewhere than in the Mohawk Valley and it is presumed that they did so in the spring of 1723 at the German Flatts on lands already arranged for. Many of the names of the German Flatts patentees are not found in the Livingston Manor or Schoharie lists and are therefore presumed to have been of the third Palatine immigration of 1722. Many of this shipload had died at sea, so that there were probably not over three hundred survivors. This immigration is remembered largely from the fact that among its members were the parents of the future General Nicholas Herkimer and of a newly arriving clergyman direct from the Palatinate, Rev. John Jacob Ehele.

All of these Mohawk Valley patentees of land were to pay the usual annual quit-rent (a rent that could never be dissolved) in addition to the purchase price. These quit-rents were two were required to clear the forests away and bring under cultivation within three years six acres in every hundred granted by the Provincial Council. Historian Simms in speaking of the exodus to the Mohawk Valley from Schoharie says: "The greater part of 100 families are believed to have made the exodus in 1723." Also at another place the same author says: "It is difficult to determine just what other names in the towns of Minden and Palatine came into the state prior to 1720"; but we may conclude that some of the following old Palatine names were among them, viz.: Wormuth, Cox, Paris, Saltsman, Shults, Bauder, Sitts Eacker, Suits, Eisenlord, Lipe, Ehle, and Wick. The Hendrick Failing family should also be included.

Some of the Palatines in 1731 settled on the 8,000-acre Canajoharie Patent in the present townships of Minden and Canajoharie. They leased these lands of the Mohawk Indians and many years later some of the New York City land speculators claimed the lands of the Patent. Charges of fraud were made by the Mohawk Indians, and the London Government ordered Sir William Johnson to settle the matter. The Palatines eventually received all the lands that they had been occupying for years as tenants of the Mohawk Indians in Minden and Canajoharie townships.

THE FRONTIER PUSHED WESTWARD

The frontier of New York was pushed westward earlier than it would have been normally because of the failure of the naval stores project at the Hudson Camps, and the failure to allot the forty acres of land to each person as provided in the London Covenant of 1709. The stream of Deutches Volk, however, ran steadily into Pennsylvania because of its better advertisement in Germany, the harsh treatment of the Palatines in New York, and the "extravagant grants" of land to New York aristocrats and speculators which had the effect of closing the frontier to the immigrant wanting a modest sized farm. The injustice of the



GOVERNOR WILLIAM C. BOUCK

New York land policy is fully explained in *The Frontier in America* by Frederick Jackson Turner, listed in the Bibliography.

The Palatines, so far as the records show, accepted the hazards of frontier defense against the French and their Indian allies without any hesitation. Again and again these pioneer settlers stated that they wanted land for their children on which they could support themselves "after we die". The final desirable and excellent locations of the Palatine settlements of New York were due more to their demands for what they considered had been promised them, their good relations with the Iroquois Indians, and their good judgment in the choice of soils, than to any efforts of the British or Provincial governments in their behalf.

The pioneer Palatine settlers of the Mohawk Valley enjoyed a period of comparative rest for twenty-five years in spite of an occasional raid by the French aided by the Algonquin and Huron Indians. Later, however, they suffered the cruel invasion of Belletre in November 1757, which destroyed the settlements at what is now Herkimer, Little Falls, Mohawk, Ilion and Frankfort, burning every house, barn, grist and sawmill on the north side of the Mohawk River and many homes and barns on the south side, killing the cattle, horses, sheep and swine. This was the most disastrous invasion, with possibly the exception of the burning of Schenectady in 1690, that the Mohawk Valley experienced before the Revolution. Over three hundred persons were killed, a hundred persons were taken prisoners, including the Justice of the Peace (called a Mayor in the French report) John Jost Petri, who was carried to Canada. Fort Herkimer alone held out against the invasion and provided a haven for many who escaped to the south shore of the Mohawk River.

The next spring (1758) the French struck again at the south bank of the Mohawk. Thirty Palatines were killed, and most of the homesteads destroyed. The loss of lives would have been greater but for the active vigilance of young Captain Nicholas Herkimer, who hearing of the approach of the invaders, sounded the alarm, collected many settlers within the palisades of Fort Herkimer, and successfully resisted an attack on the fort. The Palatine prisoners of 1757 returned home two or three years later

following the fall of Quebec. Many soldiers of Palatine descent contributed to the defeat of the French on the Plains of Abraham and elsewhere, for 2,680 New Yorkers served in the British Colonial Army in the French and Indian War (1756-1763).

KOCHERTHAL AND HAEGER

Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, who had made a previous trip to New York with the first Newburgh settlers in 1708, returned to New York with the Palatine immigration of 1710. Rev. John Frederick Haeger (Hager), a Reformed student of theology from the Palatinate, received the Established Church ordination in England in 1709 and also sailed with the 1710 immigration as an Anglican missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. When the Palatines would have nothing to do with the Established Church, Haeger reverted to his original faith, that of the Reformed Church. Both Kocherthal and Haeger came up the Hudson with the Palatines. Kocherthal was the first clergyman to visit the Schoharie Valley in 1714 and to organize a congregation at Weiserdorf (Middleburgh). Haeger was the second clergyman to visit the Schoharie Valley in 1716. Kocherthal and Haeger at the request of Governor Hunter took a census of the Palatines in the Schoharie Valley in 1718.

Kocherthal died at the comparatively early age of fifty years in 1719 and is buried under the church vestibule at West Camp where "they laid to rest the worn and weary body of the man who had done more for them than any other individual", says the Rev. Herman F. Vesper in the Book of Names.

"Know, O traveler, under this stone rests, beside his Sibylla Charlotta, a genuine traveler, of the High-Germans in America, their Joshua. And a pure Lutheran preacher of the same in the east and west side of the Hudson river. His first arrival was with Lord Lovelace 1707-08, January 1, his second with Col. Hunter 1710, June 14, brought his journey to England to end. His heavenly journey was on St. John's Day, 1719".

The inscription on the brown stone tablet over the grave asks the question: "Do you wish to know more? Seek in Melancton's Fatherland." Haeger served as Chaplain of the New York contingent in the expedition against Canada in 1711. He died at the age of 37 years in 1721 and is presumed to have been buried at East Camp near present day Germantown.

Of the work of these two clergymen, Rev. LaRoy Deitrich of West Camp in an address before the Palatine Society in 1942 said: "Four Christian congregations were founded, two on each side of the river (Hudson). Two houses of worship were provided shortly after they landed, although of rude structure and possibly shared during the week with the school teacher for the mental advancement of the young; the pastors and their faithful followers must have sung 'Ein Feste Burgh' and 'Nun Danket Alle Gott' with tear-stained face and gleaming eye, as they praised God in the sanctuary and received strength from on high in the worship of their Saviour."

"Concerning Rev. Haeger we know little more than we do of Kocherthal. Haeger was ordained by the Bishop of London on December 20th, 1709, and labored among the Palatines at one of their temporary encampments in England, and on board of one of the ships on the way over. It seems that neither Kocherthal or Haeger were on the first ship to arrive in New York Bay. They found when they landed that Rev. Justus Falckner, a Lutheran clergyman, was already administering to the Palatines that had landed. Although Kocherthal and Haeger were of necessity rivals (one a Lutheran, the other a Reformed), and human nature being what it is, we would expect to hear of discord between them. Yet such is not the case, proving thereby that both men were filled with the spirit of Jesus, and were determined to do conscientiously what each felt was the will of God. It speaks well for both of them, and as a result the work of the church, which was their primary business, progressed, and the spiritual needs of all the Palatines were satisfied."

"Rev. Haeger failed in his attempt to proselytize for the Church of England, but he is honored today as the first pastor of the Mother Palatine Reformed Churches on both banks of



THE WEST CAMP CHURCH
NEAR SITE OF LOG CHURCH ERECTED BY PASTOR
KOCHERTHAL IN 1711

the river (Hudson). Rev. Haeger's record book has never been found." The *Gazetteer* of New York by Thomas F. Gordon in 1836 said: "Rev. Haeger baptized 61 children and married 101 couples between July, 1710, and July, 1712." Rev. Kocherthal officiated at the marriage of Rev. Haeger to Anna Catharina Rohrbach on November 13th, 1716. The story of the harmony between the first Palatine clergymen of different faiths on the New York frontier should not be forgotten even in our day. It should be noted that Kocherthal, Haeger, Berkenmeyer, Ehele and Sommer served all the Palatines and held services in nearly all the community churches of the Hudson, Schoharie and Mohawk valleys.

CONGREGATION AND CHURCH BUILDING

The successor of Rev. John Frederick Haeger in the Hudson Valley was the Rev. John Jacob Ehele, who like Haeger was formerly of the Reformed faith and like Ehele he also was ordained by the Bishop of London and made a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Ehele was born in the Palatinate about 1690, educated at the University of Heidelberg and arrived in the New York Province in 1722. He labored at first among the Palatines along the Hudson River, then in the Schoharie Valley, but from 1742 his ministry was entirely in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. He ministered to congregations in the Schoharie Valley, Stone Arabia, Indian Castle and Little Falls - Remensnyder's Bush - Manheim areas. Pastor Ehele officiated at one of the marriages of Joseph Brant, the noted Iroquois War Chief. The Indians gave him a valuable tract of land near Nelliston, held by his descendants down to the present time. He died at 92 years of age, held in high esteem by both white and red men and was buried in the old Frey plot at Palatine Bridge.

In all of the first Palatine settlements, whether at Newburgh, East or West Camp, Loonenburgh (Athens), Catskill, Germantown, Rhinebeck, Rhinecliff, Weiserdorf (Middleburgh), Brunendorf and Foxesdorf (Schoharie), Stone Arabia, Palatine Church (Fox's Mills), Little Falls - Remensnyder's Bush - Man-



THE STONE ARABIA DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

heim, Herkimer, Fort Herkimer, Mohawk, Ilion or Frankfort these pioneers followed about the same general pattern, *i.e.*, in two or three years after permanent locations and shelters had been provided for their families they rolled up a log building that was devoted to church and school purposes before they had a resident clergyman. And when the resident clergyman came he was often both the pastor and the school teacher. In a decade or so the log church was displaced by one of stone or of frame construction or sometimes of brick if there happened to be good clay for brick making in the vicinity.

The Fort Herkimer Church congregation was organized in 1723. A log church and school building was erected a year or two later. The deed for the land on which the log church stood was dated September 24th, 1730. The receipt for fifteen pounds was signed by "Nicholas Wohllaben." The construction of the stone church was begun within a few years and finally completed in 1767. This stone church was also used as a fort, which no doubt delayed its completion. The walls were raised to their present height in 1812-13, giving upstairs space for a gallery and the north side entrance was changed to the west end of the building. The Fort Herkimer Church, with possibly one or two exceptions, is the oldest church edifice standing in New York State. No more impressive interior, typical of the European Churches of the 16th century, can be found with its two winding, railed stairways leading up to high octagon pulpit under a large wooden sounding board.

In exterior design, the stone Lutheran Palatine Church (now known as the Palatine Shrine) east of St. Johnsville, and the stone Reformed Church at Stone Arabia are splendid specimens of church architecture of the long ago. The stone for all these old Palatine stone churches was quarried by the parishioners within the immediate vicinity of each church. The Palatine Church (Shrine) Tower is crowned by a bronze cock weathervane, as was customary in Europe, and the original plan of the interior, as originally constructed, is now being restored.

The Rev. Justus Falckner of New York City extended his missionary work to the Palatines in the Hudson and Schoharie Valleys and East New Jersey after the death of Pastor Kocher-

thal in 1719. Kocherthal's church records, begun on shipboard in 1710 and continued to his death, are among the most valuable of Palatine family records. They are on file at the State Library in Albany and have been published several times. At first religious services were held in groves, homes, barns, and log churches. Musical instruments were not used in the services for many years. Even Bibles, hymn books and tuning forks were very scarce. Yet these worshippers made some attempt to keep familiar with Bach and the hymns of Martin Luther.

It was hard for the missionary clergymen of those days to reach all of their congregations in any one year. Travel along the Hudson River was by sailboat and in the back areas by horseback, and sometimes the clergymen were conveyed in the wagons of their parishioners. Pastor Falckner traveled 1,200 miles one year and even then was unable to visit all his parishioners. Rev. Haeger received a bad fall from his horse when the saddle cinch broke, and on another occasion he records when driving between Schenectady and Livingston Manor that he was chased by drunken Indians. It was under such circumstances that the missionary pastors of the pioneers labored. Before the resident pastors came, the Lutheran and Reformed groups frequently worshipped as one congregation.

Falckner died in 1723 and he was succeeded by the Rev. William Berkenmeyer. Berkenmeyer was born in the Duchy of Lueneburg in the Palatinate in 1686, and arrived in the Province of New York in 1725. He brought with him a library of 367 volumes, probably one of the largest collection of books in America at that time; 225 of these volumes are now in the Wittenberg College Library at Springfield, Ohio. During the interval without pastoral visitations, much strife, dissension and chaos developed in several congregations. It took Berkenmeyer nearly six years to re-establish order and regular services in all the scattered frontier congregations. He made Loonenburgh, now Athens-on-the-Hudson, his headquarters and ministered to the widely scattered Palatine congregations in the Hudson, Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. He was a good administrator who extended



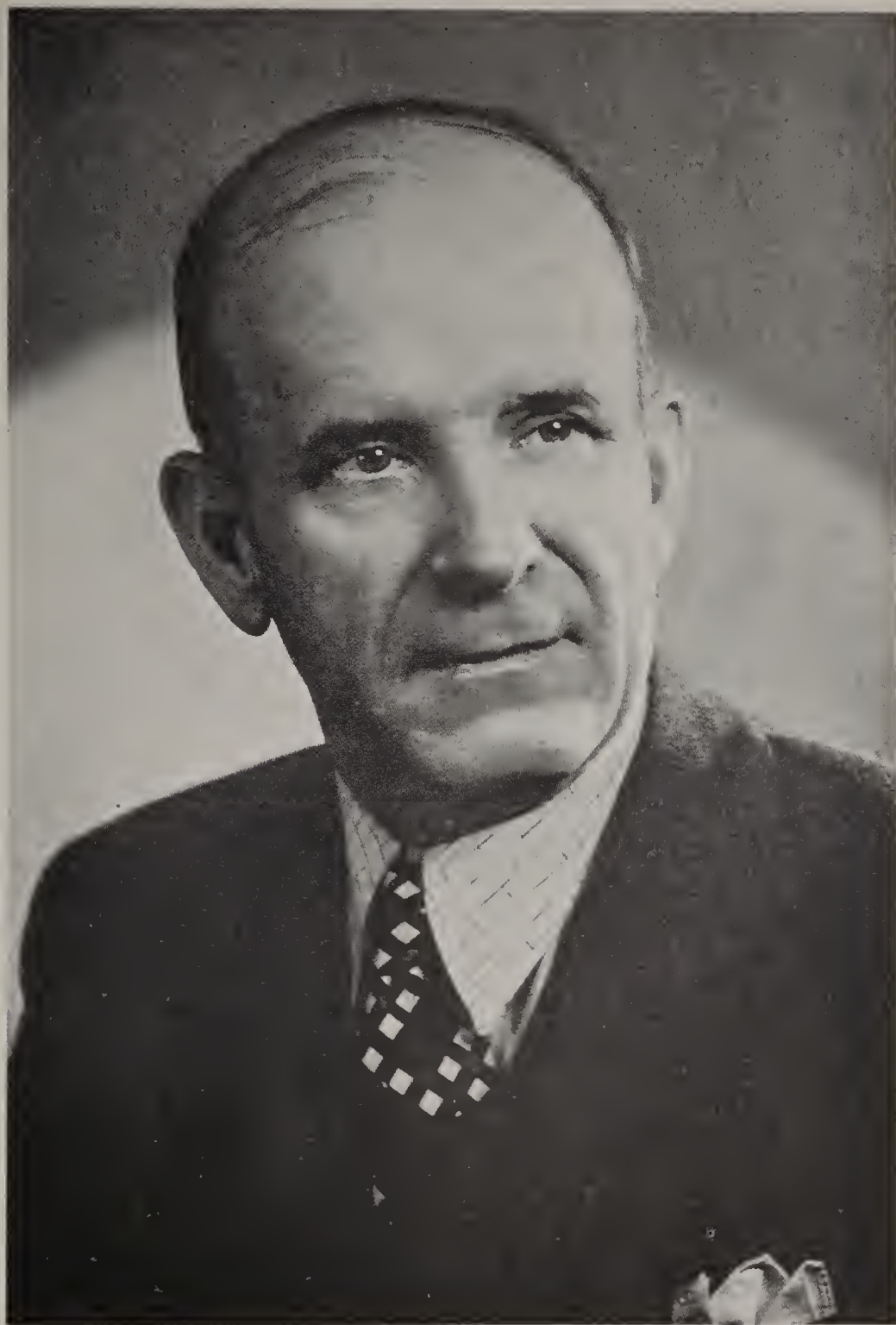
REV. AND MRS. STANLEY HAVERLY, PASTOR OF THE PALATINE CHURCH (SHRINE). CURATOR OF THE PALATINE SOCIETY.

his field of influence over twenty-six years to twelve congregations. He died in 1751.

The first resident Lutheran clergyman to serve the Palatines in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys was the Rev. Peter Nicholas Sommer. He accepted a call from the Schoharie congregation and arrived in the Province from Hamburg in 1743 and continued his labors among the Palatines for forty-six years. While his headquarters were at Schoharie he did much traveling in the Hudson, Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. He organized congregations at Little Falls and Manheim in 1743 and at Geissenberg in 1745 and the Palatine Church congregation in 1749. Pastor Sommer received both negro slaves and Indian members in his congregations. He baptized no less than eighty-four Indians and was one of the most successful of all pioneer clergymen with the Indians of that early date. He ceased his labors when eighty years of age on account of blindness. He died in 1795 at the age of eighty-six and is buried now at the site of the former St. Paul's Stone Church in the hill cemetery above Schoharie village. His first interment was at Sharon, New York.

The Rev. George Michael Weiss was the first resident Reformed minister in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys, arriving in this field from the Palatinate about 1730, having served previously in Pennsylvania. He graduated from the University of Heidelberg at the age of eighteen, arrived in America in 1727 on the ship *William and Sarah*, being on board enroute four and a half months. After laboring in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys, Rev. Weiss went to the Hudson Valley and then returned to Pennsylvania, where he died in 1762 at the age of 62 years. Both Berkenmeyer and Weiss at one time were the owners of slaves and both gave them their freedom.

Another outstanding clergyman born in the Palatine in 1737 was the Rev. John Daniel Gros. He served Reformed Churches in New York City and Pennsylvania and lectured at Kings College (now Columbia) and at Rutgers Universities. During the Revolutionary War he preached in the Mohawk Valley, serving as the minister of "Sand Hill" Reformed Church, from which both the Reformed Churches at Canajoharie and Fort Plain



LOUIS M. FOWLER, WHO, TOGETHER WITH MRS. FOWLER, CONTRIBUTED LARGELY TO THE RESTORATION OF THE PALATINE SHRINE.

sprang. The "Sand Hill" Church was burned in the British-Indian raid of 1780. Domine Gros was the chaplain of three regiments in the Revolution and became an extensive land owner after the war. He died in 1812 and is buried at Fort Plain. He was a Regent of the University of the State of New York from 1784 to 1787. Doctor Gros also lectured on Moral Philosophy at Columbia College. He built the "Old Brick House" in Freysbush (now standing) about 1790.

THE NUMBER OF NEW YORK PALATINES

There has always been considerable uncertainty about the number of Palatines in the Province of New York. This uncertainty applied to their number in 1723 when large groups began to leave not only the Schoharie Valley but other settlements in the Province. One historian estimates that "only one-fourth of the Palatines of Livingston Manor moved to the unprotected Schoharie frontier." This probably is an underestimate. Another reliable authority says that there were trickles of movements from Livingston Manor and other German settlements to the Schoharie Valley for years. A group of the descendants of the Palatines in the Hudson Valley at Rhinebeck settled in the present town of Seward in Schoharie County in 1760. On October 26, 1713, Governor Hunter listed 1,008 Palatines in the Hudson Valley settlements, including New York City, 500 in the Schoharie Valley and another 500 in scattered areas working for colonial landlords.

The Palatine clergymen, Kocherthal and Haeger, at the request of Governor Hunter, took a census of the Palatine settlements. They reported 224 families of 1,021 persons along the Hudson and 170 families of 680 persons in the Schoharie Valley. This census report of 1718 did not include the widows and orphans, leaving an error of "several hundred persons." Wilhelm Scheff in London in 1720 told the Board of Trade that there were about three thousand Palatines in the Province of New York and "one thousand souls in Schoharie", making an average of six persons to the family. Scheff's estimate, the largest of all, is probably the nearest to the actual strength, although even his

COLONIAL PULPIT
PRESENTED 1952 BY
EVVA SOMERS DAWSON
AND
M. SUTPHEN SOMERS,
GREAT GREAT GRAND-
CHILDREN OF THE
FOUNDER OF THE
CHURCH REV. PETER
NICHOLAS SOMMER.



THE OLD PALATINE CHURCH (SHRINE) BEFORE THE RESTORATION OF 1952 WAS COMPLETED

estimate may be low as all pioneer groups, and the Palatines especially, were notedly prolific. A Schoharie authority wrote facetiously "Probably about one thousand souls in all came from the Hudson to Schoharie in 1713-14, and thus did the High Dutch drift to Driftwood." ("To-wos-scho-hor", or Schoharie, means a bridge of driftwood.)

On the basis of the Scheff estimate and the probable increase in the next few years, it seems reasonable to assume that about 400 Schoharie Palatines went to Pennsylvania between 1723 and 1729 and that an equal number from Schoharie went to the Mohawk Valley during the same period, leaving about 400 Palatines in the Schoharie Valley. Simms states that "at the time of the stampede of the Palatines from Schoharie to Pennsylvania, a large body of them removed to the Mohawk Valley, probably at different times, for the distance was not very great, but the greater part of one hundred families are believed to have made the exodus in 1723." There can be little doubt that by 1730 the Palatine population of the Mohawk Valley was nearly two thousand souls, more than half of this number coming direct from the Hudson Camps and from the Third Palatine Immigration to the Mohawk Valley.

It has been estimated by competent authority that at the time of the first U. S. census in 1790 the German population of the present counties of Dutchess, Ulster, Columbia, Greene, Schoharie, Montgomery, Fulton, Herkimer and portions of Oneida, Saratoga and Schenectady was 37,000 out of a total New York State population of 340,120 persons. In the new nation there were approximately 375,000 persons of German descent, mostly Palatines, out of a total U. S. population of 3,172,000. This Palatine population in 1790 in New York was no doubt less than at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, for in the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys they had been more exposed and had suffered more than any other frontier area. The German element, however, was next in numerical strength to the British element. This comparison gives some idea of the importance of the Palatine stock among the racial groups forming our nation in 1790.



THE OLD PALATINE CHURCH IN 1860

From a wood cut appearing in the Lutheran Home Journal. At this period the Church contained the ancient balcony, the spiral pulpit and sounding board.

While the Palatine pioneers have furnished only four per cent of the place-names of New York State, there being no pronounced German immigration until many years after the coming of the Palatines, yet they have left an indelible mark on our map. In the Hudson Valley they have given us Mount Rigi (Columbia County), Newburgh, Rhinebeck, Rhinecliff, Germantown and the Helderberg Mountains near Albany, originally called the Hellenbergs. In Schoharie County they have left the names of Blenheim, Warnerville, Lawyersville and Breakabeen, while New Dorlach was changed to Seward. In the Mohawk Valley there are two villages and a county named after Herkimer; there are also the names of Palatine Bridge, Manheim, Frankfort, Illion, Minden, Oppenheim and Sprakers.

Most readers of Mohawk Valley history know of the horrors committed in the valley during the Revolutionary War. Few of them know of the bloody and destructive invasions of the French and Canadian Indians previous to that struggle. These invasions began in 1615 and continued in 1665, 1666, 1690, 1693, 1696, 1747, 1757 and in 1758, in all nine efforts to drive out the Iroquois Indians and the white settlers of upper New York. There is considerable evidence in the source records that the British would have been unable to hold the Mohawk Valley and contiguous territory had it not been for the aid of the Palatines and the Iroquois Indians in the Mohawk Valley. The greatest loss of life, the greatest number of persons carried away in captivity, and the greatest destruction of property experienced before the Revolution was sustained by the Palatines of the Mohawk Valley in the invasion of 1757. The French threat continued to hang like the sword of Damocles over the Mohawk Valley up to and including the French and Indian War (1756-1763). A decisive factor in this struggle, however, was that the upper New York settlers — Dutch, Palatines and English — were getting their living out of the soil and not depending so much on trade or imports from home countries as the French in Canada in their less productive and colder climate.

TENSION WITH BRITAIN INCREASES

Oriskany

After the withdrawal of the French forces from Canada in 1763 the descendants of the Palatines of New York had about a decade and a half to rebuild their homes, grist and sawmills, farm buildings, replenish their livestock and bring their neglected farms under a good state of cultivation. The wheat fields and grist mills of the Upper Hudson, Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys, mostly in the Palatine sections, not only sustained the residents of those localities through the war, but actually were of major importance to England in winning the French and Indian War. A few years later these same fields and grist mills were destined to help the Colonists win national independence. Meanwhile Albany had become a great shipping and milling center. Pennsylvania alone rivaled New York in the production of wheat.

But the tension between the Colonists and the British government was increasing from year to year. Britain was ruling the Colonies like subjugated provinces. Colonel Guy Johnson, who had succeeded his uncle Sir William Johnson after his death in 1774 as Indian Agent, made every effort to win the Mohawk Palatines to the royal cause. Only in a comparatively few instances did that happen. The position of the Palatines was stated in a letter delivered to Colonel Johnson by Nicholas Herkimer and Edward Wahl, announcing the resolution of the Tryon (Montgomery) County Committee of Public Safety to support the Continental Congress "until all grievances were redressed."

THE TRYON COUNTY COMMITTEE OF SAFETY

An attempt that failed was made to divide Albany County in 1769 so that the public business could be transacted without the traveling of such great distances. Sir William Johnson petitioned the New York Provincial Assembly again for a division in 1772, and a new County of Tryon, after the name of the Governor, was formed, consisting of all of present-day Montgomery, Fulton and Hamilton and parts of Schoharie, Otsego, Herkimer and Oneida Counties, running through to the



A. L. DILLENBECK, FIRST PRESIDENT OF PALATINE SOCIETY
1938-1952 — A PALATINE DESCENDANT

1768 boundary line between the Iroquois and the white settlements. This line ran from the Oneida Lake, Fort Bull, Fort Stanwix (Rome) through the western limits of the village of Clinton to Bridgewater and down the Unadilla River. Tryon County at its formation had a population of about 10,000 persons, and the name was changed to Montgomery in 1784.

Since 1768 there had been a fighting Whig minority in the New York Provincial Assembly which demanded a voice in directing their own political affairs free from royal or Parliamentary dictation. This minority had opposed the unseating of members returned by their own constituencies, the laying of taxes for the support of the King's troops or the quartering of them in the homes of the people; and they insisted on the right to petition the Crown the same as the Boroughs of England. All of these fundamental rights were denied the people of the Province by a British-inspired majority in the Assembly and a dictatorial Royal Governor.

Committees of Correspondence between the colonists, and between some of the districts of the same colony, had been formed at the suggestion of Samuel Adams of Boston as early as 1772. This correspondence brought understanding and unity to the Whig adherents throughout all the Colonies, and had a marked influence on later developments and the preparations for the struggle just ahead. Then came the startling and sudden death of Sir William Johnson on July 11, 1774, with a train of events in the Province of New York that did not cease until independence was won. The diplomatic Sir William had kept the land-grabbing speculators from robbing both their white neighbors and the rightful owners of the soil, the Iroquois Indians. And Sir William and his henchmen had done some land grabbing in their own behalf. But a measure of law, order and peace had been maintained on the New York frontier. Now both the Indians and the white settlers knew that a change in policy, or at least in its execution, was imminent. For neither Sir John Johnson or Colonel Guy Johnson, the new Indian Agent, commanded the respect from the settlers that Sir William had received.

This uncertainty led to a first meeting of the men of the Palatine District at the tavern of Adam Loucks of Stone Arabia on August 27, 1774, to consider their situation, to adopt resolutions, and to appoint a committee to represent them. The committeemen selected were Christopher P. Yates, Isaac Paris, John Frey and Andrew Finck, Jr. Later the committee was enlarged to twelve members. Resolutions were passed condemning the blockading of the Port of Boston, the tendering of assistance to the people of Boston, and the endorsing of the plan of sending delegates from the Province of New York to a general Continental Congress at Philadelphia in September, 1774.

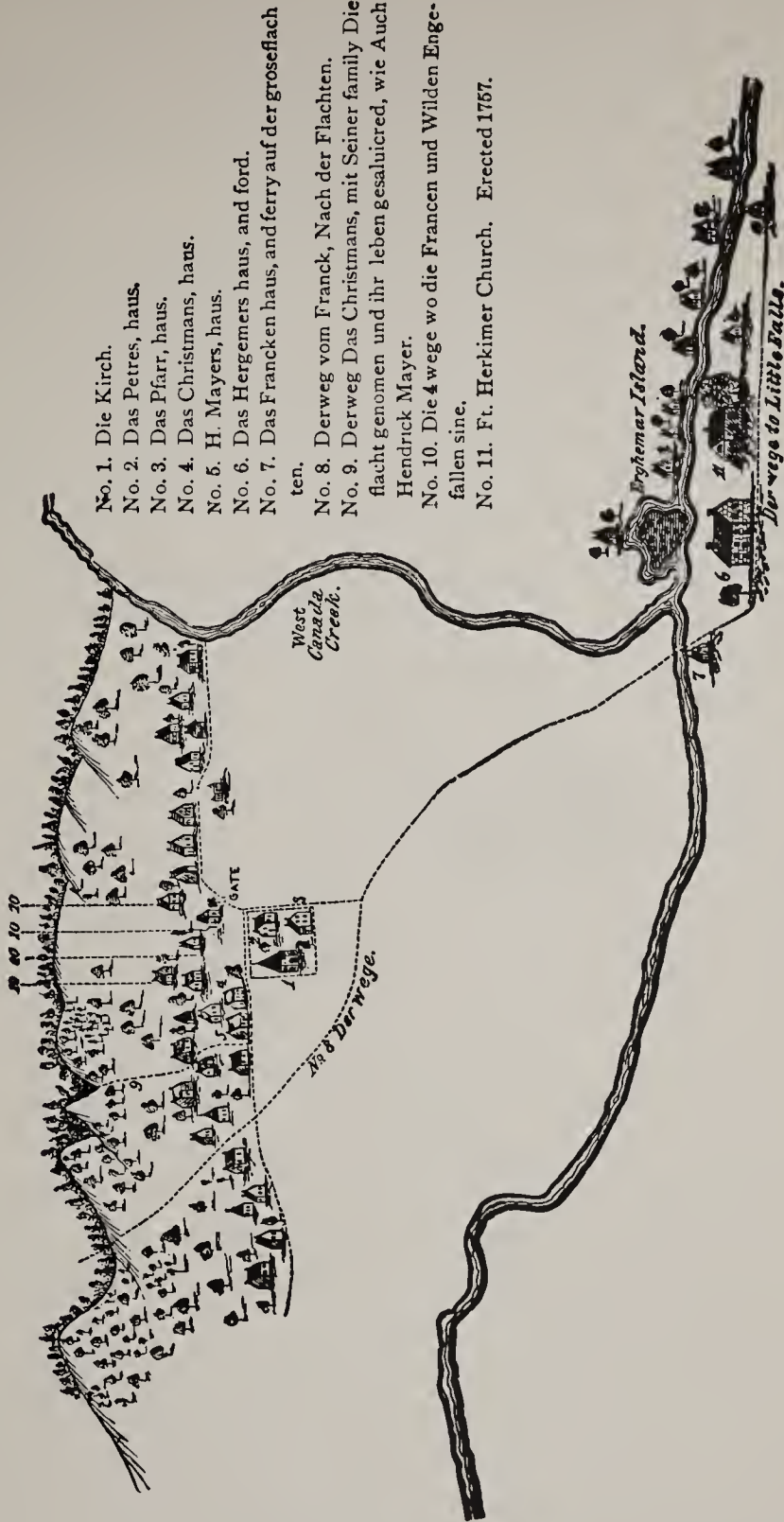
Then came the startling news of the fighting at Lexington and Concord in April of 1775. The Palatine District Committee met almost immediately on receiving the news from Boston and for a second time at the tavern of Adam Loucks at Stone Arabia on a day during the first week in May of 1775. The committee was instructed to correspond with other committees and a resolution passed that we "do solemnly declare our fixed attachment to and entire approbation of the Grand Continental Congress held at Philadelphia last fall, and that we will strictly adhere and abide by the same."

A third meeting of the Palatine District Committee was held, place unknown, on the 19th of May, 1775, at which it was declared "the District we represent has been foremost in avowing its attachment to liberty and approving the mode of opposition adopted in America, and are now signing an Association similar to what has been signed in other Counties in the Province."

A fourth meeting of the Palatine District Committee was held on Sunday, May 21, 1775, at the house of Philip Fox, across the Caroga Creek from the Palatine Church (Shrine), with nine members of the committee present. Two of the resolutions passed at this meeting were as follows:

- (1) "that Col. (John) Johnson's conduct in raising fortifications round his house, keeping a number of Indians and other armed men constantly about him, and stopping and searching travelers on the King's Highway, and stopping our communications with Albany is very alarming to this County, and

THE PALATINE VILLAGE OF HERKIMER, DESTROYED BY CANADIAN FRENCH AND INDIANS
NOVEMBER 12, 1757.



- No. 1. Die Kirch.
- No. 2. Das Petres, haus.
- No. 3. Das Pfarr, haus.
- No. 4. Das Christmans, haus.
- No. 5. H. Mayers, haus.
- No. 6. Das Hergemers haus, and ford.
- No. 7. Das Francken haus, and ferry auf der grosseflach ten.
- No. 8. Derweg vom Franck, Nach der Flachten.
- No. 9. Derweg Das Christmans, mit Seiner family Die flacht genomen und ihr leben gesalucired, wie Auch Hendrick Mayer.
- No. 10. Die 4 wege wo die Francken und Wilden Enge- fallen sine.
- No. 11. Ft. Herkimer Church. Erected 1757.

highly arbitrary, illegal, oppressive and unwarrantable, and confirms us in our fears, that his design is to keep us in awe, and to oblige us to submit to a state of slavery”;

(2) “that we abhor a state of slavery, we do join and unite together under all the ties of religion, honor, justice, and love of our country, never to become slaves, and to defend our freedom with our lives and fortunes.”

A general meeting of the men of the Mohawk Valley was held on May 24, 1775, at the house of William Seeber of the Canajoharie District. It was at this meeting that the Palatine District Committee became merged into the Tryon County Committee of Safety with the committees of the districts of Canajoharie, Kingsland and German Flatts, with a membership of thirty persons. Christopher P. Yates was elected chairman. Nicholas Herkimer was present and later became chairman of the Committee, and John Eisenlord clerk. A committee was also appointed to purchase powder, flints and lead and to communicate with the Albany and Schenectady Committees of Safety.

The Tryon County Committee of Safety met the next time on June 2, 1775, at the house of Werner Tygert of the Canajoharie District. The Committee of the Mohawk District (eastern part of the Mohawk Valley) was admitted to membership in the Tryon County Committee of Safety, increasing the full membership of the general committee to forty-three persons. This was the second meeting of the consolidated District Committees and was probably one of the most important meetings ever held by the Tryon County Committee of Safety. From this time on the Committee took full charge as a governing body. It forbade trade with the Tory element, levied taxes, administered civil and criminal justice, punished the guilty of lawlessness, organized the new militia, appointed the constables, magistrates and sheriffs, elected the delegates to the Provincial Congress, confiscated the property of Tories actively engaged in opposing the will of the Continental Congress, and carried on in every way as a necessary ruling body until the formation of the new State Government two years later.

Serving on this Committee was a serious business. They were the target of all eyes, Tory, Congress-minded and neutrals. They had no protection except what they provided for themselves. Their meetings were frequent, interfering with the private business of the members. Members served without salary or fees, and when absent from meetings without a good excuse were fined. And let it not be overlooked that the Loyalists, with many tenants and with ability to gratify their passions and do whatever seemed right in their own eyes, held an enormous acreage of land in the Province. Against these people of the Province there was a debt of eight million pounds then due British merchants. The members of the Committee met in secret sometimes and were sworn not to talk of Committee business to anyone except their own members. There were several conflicts between the Loyalists and the Committee members before the Johnsons and other Loyalists fled to Canada. The Committee was denied the use of the court house and jail at Johnstown and had to provide other places for the trial and confinement of their prisoners. The years of 1775-76-77 were tragic years in Mohawk Valley history. Many members of the Committee lost their lives at the Battle of Oriskany. Many of the names in the list of the Tryon County Committee of Safety are those of the men who held the frontier and helped found a new state and a new nation. It is a list of names in which the Palatines predominate.

The Tryon County Committee of Safety members were apportioned by districts as follows (total 43 members):

Palatine District (12 members): Christopher P. Yates, Isaac Paris, John Frey, Andrew Fink Jr., Andrew Reber, Peter Waggoner, Daniel McDougal, Jacob Klock, George Ecker Jr., Harmanus Van Slyke, Christopher W. Fox, Anthony Van Veghten.

Canajoharie District (8 members): Nicholas Herkimer, Ebenezer Cox, William Seeber, John Moore, Samuel Campbell, Samuel Clyde, Thomas Henry, John Pickert.

Kingsland and German Flatts District (13 members): Edward Wall, William Petry, John Petry, Marcus Petry, Augustine Hess, Frederick Ahrendorf, George Wentz, Michael Ittig,

Frederick Fox, George Herkimer, Duncal McDougal, Frederick Helmar, John Franck.

Mohawk District (10 members): John Marlatt, John Bliven, Abraham V. Van Horn, Adam Fonda, Frederick Fisher, Sampson Simmons, William Schuyler, Volkert Veeder, James McMaster, Daniel Lane.

The Palatine Committee of Safety met for the fourth and last time as an independent committee on May 21, 1775. That was a year and forty-five days before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia; and it was two years and seventy-eight days before the Battle of Oriskany. "To defend our freedom with our lives and fortunes," a resolution passed at that meeting stated. They did just that at Oriskany. These dates show how alert, informed and determined these men of the Mohawk Valley were. In speaking of the Battle of Oriskany, Howard Swiggett in *The War Out of Niagara* gives these men of Tryon County an unusual compliment coming from a critical writer. He wrote: "The fighting was of great ferocity and the Palatines held their own."

In August 1777 General Barry St. Leger surrounded and besieged Fort Stanwix (Rome) with 1,700 British, Tories and Indians, and demanded its surrender. Colonel Peter Gansevoort, in command of about 750 Continental Line troops, denied the request. General Nicholas Herkimer called out the 800 men, consisting of four battalions of thirty-three companies of the Tryon County Militia, and marched to the relief of the fort. Due to the impatience of the younger officers, the advance on the morning of August 6th was made without forward or flank patrols. As the forces of General Herkimer were advancing over a corduroy road out of a ravine to higher ground, west of the present village of Oriskany, they were ambushed and thrown into confusion by the sudden attack, but rallied almost immediately under the guidance of their leader.

About noon, after the regiments had regained their order and had reached the hilltop along their front, General Herkimer's leg was shattered by the same bullet that killed his horse.

Although in great pain, seated on his saddle on the ground under a beechnut tree, General Herkimer continued to direct the battle formations, ordering squads in circles with two men behind each tree. This was so that each militiaman, while reloading his flintlock, had the protection of the other militiaman with a loaded firearm, so the Indians could not rush forward and easily tomahawk an unprotected militiaman.

The officer mortality, like that of the enlisted men, was extremely heavy. There probably is not another instance in our entire history where raw militiamen fought with such stubbornness and unyielding bravery. An incomplete list gives the names of some of the officers killed: Colonel Cox, Majors Eisenlord, Van Slyke, Klepsattle, Blevin, Paris and Sieber; Captains Davis, Pettingill, Dillenbeck, Heimar, Diefendorf, Bauman, Dygert and Seeber; Lieutenants Campbell, Deitrich, Hans Yost Petrie and Quackenbush. Approximately 200 enlisted men died of wounds. There is no complete roster of the killed and wounded at the Battle of Oriskany. A large majority of the men engaged, probably eighty per cent, were of Palatine descent.

“Of all the battles of the Revolution, the most obstinate and murderous,” says Fisk the historian. “It was Herkimer who first reversed the gloomy scene,” said General Washington. There was not a home in the Mohawk Valley without a casualty! Nine days after the battle General Herkimer died at his home while reading the 38th Psalm, after a crude and unskillful amputation of his leg.

*“Heroes are born in such a chosen hour;
O'er common men they rise and tower;
Like thee, brave Herkimer!*

*Who wounded, steedless, still beside the beech,
Cheered on thy men, with sword and speech*

In grim Oriskany.”

(Poem by Rev. Charles D. Helmen, D.D.)

No wonder the Mohawk Valley residents were stunned. But they had made St. Leger's invasion a failure, his retreat to Canada inevitable. The Iroquois Indians, with the loss of many

of their best warriors and chiefs, were taught a lesson they never forgot. The Palatines of the Mohawk Valley had also made possible a full strength concentration of the Northern Army, the Levies, Continental Line and the Militia at the two Battles of Saratoga and the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army a reality. The American Colonies were not to be divided as the British leaders in London had planned. And Oriskany, meaning "nettles" in the Iroquois tongue, will be remembered as long as water flows in the Mohawk River.

THE REVOLUTION DESCENDANTS OF THE PALATINES

During the summer of 1778 Chief Joseph Brant of the Mohawk Indians led a destructive raid on Burnettsfield, employing 300 Tories and 152 Indians. They destroyed 70 dwellings, 57 barns, 3 grist mills, 1 sawmill and a great amount of stored forage and grain. They butchered or drove off 235 horses, 229 horned cattle and 269 sheep. All the swine in the area were killed. Fortunately only two of the residents were killed, due to the great run of twenty-five miles of Adam Helmer, of Palatine descent, from Edmeston to Fort Herkimer, warning the settlers of the approaching hostile forces.

There were many other destructive raids, costly in human lives, during the course of the war, including Brant's raid on Fort Plain and Freysbush in August of 1780, and Dockstader's raid on Currytown with a force of 500 Tories and Indians in July 1781. The most destructive invasion of all, however, came in the fall of 1780, after the harvests were gathered, in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. This was led by Sir John Johnson, Chiefs Brant and Cornplanter, with a force of 800 British, Tories and Indians. Colonel Guy Johnson, adjutant of the invading forces, in a report to the British Commander, General Haldimand, at Montreal wrote: "They had destroyed 13 grist mills, many sawmills, 1,000 homes, about the same number of barns, containing, it was estimated, 600,000 bushels of grain." There were many hungry mouths the following winter in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. This is only a part of the price our

Palatine forefathers paid for independence and our way of life. Of the 308 battles and engagements fought during the Revolutionary War, 92 were fought on the soil of New York. And with two or three exceptions they were the most crucial.

There is an ever recurring need of repeating the thoughts of Governor Seymour delivered at the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany: "Let us see that the graves of dead patriots are marked by monuments. Let suitable structures tell the citizens of other states and countries, when they pass along our thoroughfares, where its great events were enacted. And let this be done in the way that shall stir our hearts and educate our minds." That is one of the objectives of the Palatine Church-Shrine and of the Oriskany Battlefield State Park.

When peace finally came in 1783 the descendants of the Palatines turned with heavy hearts and grim determination to the task of rebuilding homes and villages. And like their loyalty and patriotism in winning the war, their industry and perseverance was of great importance in the development of the state. One grandson of a Palatine pioneer, William C. Bouck, became a thrifty farmer and business man, a sheriff, assemblyman and a state senator, and when scandal and defalcation were rife in the state government and on the old Erie Canal, then under construction, he was appointed State Canal Commissioner, and for twenty years superintended the building of the Erie and feeder canal lines without any loss to the state treasury. His reputation for honesty and integrity became so great that he was elected Governor of the state in 1843 and left the office with a record of efficiency and good administration that has rarely been equaled.

The names of former President Herbert Hoover, John Wanamaker, John D. Rockefeller, Walter P. Chrysler, Governor William C. Bouck, Webster Wagner, George Miller Sterenberg, Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, Edward F. Uhl, Owen D. Young and Floyd D. Richtmeyer must be included in any list of famous descendants of the pioneer Palatines. And there are others whose ancestry cannot be definitely traced from source records, and thousands of others in every walk of life

who have given much to the progress and culture that we enjoy today. Here on the old New York frontier the pioneers of the 1708, 1710 and 1722 Palatine immigrations and their descendants have helped build a new world governed by the laws of God and man.

PALATINE CHARACTERISTICS AND CUSTOMS

These pioneers and their descendants for three generations retained many individualistic traits and characteristics, including their German language, which they brought to New York from the Rhineland. Even in the clearing of forested land they did not girdle the trees and leave them to die and for burning the next year, as was done by most other pioneers, but cut them down and burned the brush and trees the first year, thus making the ground available for cultivation the second year. They gave better care and housing to their domestic animals in winter than other pioneer groups. They built mammoth Conestoga freight wagons to take their products to market, which required four and six horses to draw. They built larger and better barns, sometimes better than their houses, and kept higher and better fences along their land boundaries than most people of other European extractions. Their first objective was to become freeholders. Few of them ever lived in rented houses.

The Palatines and their descendants set great store on keeping a farm in the family for generations. Wherever they turned the sod, the grist and sawmills ground and groaned, and the wilderness soon became a fertile field. The Palatine farmers were very much influenced in planting time by the moon, a custom that they had brought over from the Palatinate. Planting, they said, was better done in the waxing than in the waning of the moon. The moon, according to their custom, in the sign of the twins, made the best time for sowing. Even butchering of swine was carefully planned with reference to the mysterious influences of the moon. Their gardens were cared for by the women. In harvest time the women forsook their gardens, dairy

and spinning wheels and helped their fathers, brothers and husbands in the fields.

*“When the grass is dry at morning light
Look for rain before the night,
When the dew is on the grass
Rain will never come to pass.”*

—Old Country Saying

The Palatine farmers depended almost entirely on the labor of their own families. Hired help and slaves, even when they could afford them, were not wanted as much as in other pioneer groups. Their woodworking mechanics produced utensils that were not only useful but works of art. The wooden butter bowl and ladle, the grain cradle, the barley fork, and the wooden hand rake were among those utensils. Whether the Palatine mechanics first produced the steel scythe and wooden-fingered grain cradle is now not definitely known, but the Palatine farmers were among the first to dispense with the sickle and use the long wooden-fingered grain cradle in the harvesting of wheat, rye, barley and oats. It was a great improvement over the sickle. Then there were the wooden spinning wheels of the housewives, now much sought after antiques.

The Palatine communities had their good times and frolics, within limits, without any legalistic or religious scruples about enjoying themselves. In religious matters they were not as fanatical as some other peoples, however colorful their folklore may have been. They loved music, sports and singing. They drank hot buttered rum and wine at harvest time, Christmas, New Years and at weddings. Also after funerals, when the relatives came from a long distance, they often repaired to the home of the deceased and drank wine that had been saved for years for such an occasion. And sometimes these after-funeral gatherings became rather hilarious. The clergy had considerable trouble over a long period of time in breaking up this European custom. Doubtless the long wilderness distances between the homes of relatives and the long periods of time between seeing each other contributed to the retention of this custom. And it was a long

time before there were enough clergymen on the frontier to make their influence effective.

The cracking of their Indian corn for bread was for a long time a great problem of the Schoharie Palatines. The carrying of sacks of corn and wheat on their backs to the Schenectady grist mills was for years a laborious and time-consuming job. Sometimes they cracked their corn Indian fashion, in a hollowed-out stump with a stone pestle suspended from a sapling and operated like a pump handle. All this was changed by the building of a grist mill on Fox's Creek, near the Old Stone Fort Museum at Schoharie about 1720 by William Fox. The first bread was baked in a covered kettle hung in the fireplace and later in large outside stone and clay ovens. The virtue of such bread excelled modern baking for the reason that all the elements of the wheat or corn were retained. The housewife's ingenuity was taxed by the lack of culinary utensils. There was no such thing as ease in the life of the pioneer and his wife.

One elderly descendant of the Palatine pioneers became very ill and became convinced that he was going to die. He called his family and relatives to his bedside, read a chapter from the Bible, made a few comments, and then told his hearers that this was to be his funeral service. He wanted no effort with his passing to get a clergyman forty or fifty miles away through the wilderness. The traditions of this family are that the instructions of this elderly man were complied with. This man preached his own funeral sermon. Of such episodes the conquering of the New York wilderness is filled.

The Palatines of New York and their descendants down through the years have furnished a good example of the humbler virtues of citizenship including respect for the law and the prompt discharge of their business obligations. Wherever they settled the community became known for its observance of law and order. This is the opinion, written in 1789 by the distinguished Dr. Benjamin Rush, a member of General Washington's staff during the Revolutionary War.

The New York Palatines and their descendants were strong individualists as seen in their long struggle against feudalistic

policies. Yet they had a large amount of idealism in their make-up, inherited from their religion, literature and music. Many of their family names are only distinguishable from other racial pioneer names by the historian and genealogist. But sometimes they are recognizable by others by the same sturdy and thrifty characteristics that their forebears brought with them from the Palatinate. These characteristics were readily co-ordinated and absorbed with those flowing from other pioneer racial groups, all contributing inextricably to the strength, bloodstream and unity of the new nation — this land we call America.

Perhaps no competent commentator on the Palatines has summed up their characteristics more fairly than a British army officer's daughter who spent some time on the New York frontier near the end of the French and Indian War. Mrs. Anne McVicar Grant wrote in her *Memoirs of an American Lady*: "The subdued and contented spirit, the simple and primitive manners, the frugal and industrial habits of these genuine sufferers for conscience sake, make them an acquisition to any society which received them, and a most suitable leaven among the inhabitants of this Province" (New York).

John Greenleaf Whittier, sometimes regarded as the poet of the Palatines, has written:

*"Meek-hearted Woolman, and that brother band,
The sorrowing exiles from the 'Fatherland,'
Leaving their home in Kriesheim's bower of vine,
And the blue beauty of their glorious Rhine,
To seek amidst our solemn depths of wood
Freedom from man and holy peace with God;
Who first of all their testimonial gave
Against the oppression, for the outcast slave.
It is a dream that such as these look down
And with their blessings our rejoicings crown."*

THE PALATINES OF NEW YORK STATE

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APPENDIX A

THE COVENANT OF 1709 FOR PALATINE EMPLOYMENT IN NEW YORK

“Whereas, we the underwritten persons, natives of the Lower Palatinate of the Rhine, have been subsisted, maintained and supported ever since our arrival in this kingdom by the great and Christian charity of Her Majesty, the Queen, and of many of her good subjects; and, whereas Her Majesty has been pleased to order and advance a loan for us, and on our behalf of several very considerable sums towards the transporting, maintaining and settling of us and our respective families in Her Majesty’s Province of New York in America, and towards the employment of us upon lands, for that intent and purpose to be allotted to us, in the production and manufacture of all manner of naval stores, to the evident benefit and advantage of us, and our respective families, and whereas Her Majesty has been likewise graciously pleased to give her royal orders to the Hon. Col. Robert Hunter, who has now Her Majesty’s commission to be Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the said Province, and to all Governors of the said Province for the time being, that as soon as we shall have made good and repaid to Her Majesty, her heirs or successors, out of the produce of our labors in the manufacture we are about to be employed in, the full sum or sums of money in which we already are or shall become indebted to Her Majesty, by the produce of our labor in all manner of naval stores on lands to that end to be allotted to us, that then he, the said Col. Robert Hunter, or Governor or Governors of the said Province for the time being shall give and grant to us and our heirs forever, to our own use and benefit, the said lands so allotted as aforesaid, to the proportion or amount of forty acres to each person, free from all taxes, quit rents or other manner or service for seven years, from the date of such grant, and afterwards subjected only to such reservations as are accustomed and in use in that Her Majesty’s said Province.

Now KNOW ALL MEN by these Presents, that we, the said underwritten persons, in a grateful sense, just regard and due consideration of the premises, do hereby severally for ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, covenant, promise and grant to and with the Queen's most excellent Majesty, her heirs and successors, that we with our respective families will settle ourselves in such place or places as shall be allotted to us in the Province of New York on the Continent of America, and abide and continue resident upon lands so to be allotted to us as aforesaid, in such bodies or societies as shall be thought useful or necessary either for carrying on the manufacture of things proper for naval stores or for the defense of us and the rest of Her Majesty's subjects against the French or any other of Her Majesty's enemies, and that we will not, upon any account, or in any manner of pretext, quit or desert the said Province, without leave from the Governor of the said Province first had and obtained for so doing, but that we will, to our utmost power, employ and occupy ourselves and our respective families in the producing and manufacturing of all manner of naval stores upon the lands so to be allotted us, or on such other lands as shall be thought more proper for that purpose, and not concern ourselves in working up or making things belonging to the woolen manufacture, but behave ourselves in all things as becomes dutiful and loyal subjects, and grateful and faithful servants to Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, paying all due obedience to the said Hon. Col. Hunter or to the Governor or Governors of the said Province for the time being, and to all magistrates and other officers who shall from time to time be legally appointed and set over us; and towards repayment of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, all such sums of money as she or they shall at any time disburse for our support and maintenance, till we can reap the benefit of the produce of our labors, we shall permit all naval stores by us manufactured to be put into Her Majesty's storehouses which shall be for this purpose provided, under the care of a commissary, who is to keep a faithful account of the goods which shall be so delivered, and we shall allow out of the neat produce thereof so much to be paid Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, as upon a fair account shall appear to have been distributed for subsistence of us, or providing necessaries for our families. In witness, etc."

APPENDIX B

Palatine Heads of Families

FROM

Governor Hunter's Ration Lists

June, 1710 to September, 1714

Compiled from the Records in London and Presented to the
Descendants of the Palatines by

BOYD EHLE, C. E.

Historians in general and descendants of the Palatines in particular have long felt a desire for a more complete list of those Palatine emigrants who settled in New York and along the Hudson under the patronage of Queen Anne of 1710. Documentary History of New York, Vol. III gives a census of those in New York, also those in West Camp but no mention is made of those in East Camp although it is known that there were unlisted settlements on the east side.

During the summer of 1931 Mr. Boyd Ehle through his London agents caused a search of the records there with the result that the ledger accounts of Governor Hunter were consulted and all the names of heads of families drawing rations were copied. Mr. Ehle has arranged them in alphabetical order and indicated their place of residence by the symbols to be found following the name in cases where residence is known as follows:

E. —East Camp, Soldiers in Canadian Expedition of 1711.

W.—West Camp.

N. —New York City.

These locations are from the census reports in Doc. Hist., Vol. 3. Those not designated are presumed to have been residents of East Camp. No census of this camp has been discovered, but by eliminating those of known location the balance must belong to East Camp.

This kindly service on the part of Mr. Ehle is duly acknowledged on behalf of the descendants of the Palatinate. Surely no kindlier service can be imagined and not only those living today but those who will follow will find reason to be grateful for the thoughtfulness of Mr. Ehle in preserving the precious knowledge for the descendants.

London Letter

The letter accompanying the Ration Lists from the London compilers will be of interest and is here given:

Colonial Office Class 5

Vols. 1230-1231

(Badly classified—1731 is first in point of order).

These two folio volumes, clearly written and bound in undressed calf are the statement of Gov. Hunter's account against the Government for the subsistence to the Palatines 1710-1713 each having the certificates and the seal of New York in red wax, as noted in Dr. Andrew's Guide." The first is the Journal or account book, No. 1231, the other (1230) is the ledger, each name being posted up in alphabetical order. Both these show the number drawn for by the heads of families or the recipient thus:—2 adults 2 young (i.e. under 10 years); 3 adults 1 young; 1 adult, as the case may be.

Vol. 1231

This journal, as it is called is divided under the following headings:

p. 1. "New York 30 June 1719.

"The Palatines hereafter named for themselves and their families Subsistence, Debtors to the Queen's most Sacred Majesty . . . for 4 days subsistence distributed . . . from 27 June to this day at the rate of 6d for persons above 10 years of age and 4d per diem for children under 10 years

(Then follows names and sums of money to cash).

p. 4 New York 1st July 1710. Similar heading for 4 days 28 June to this day.

p. 10 New York 4th July 1710. Similar heading 4 days 1st July to this day.

p. 14 New York 4th August 1710. Similar heading 26 days 10th July to this day.

p. 29 New York 4 October 1710. Similar heading. 61 days 5th August to this day.

p. 45. Mannor of Livingston 31 December 1710 The Palatines hereafter named for themselves and their families subsistence debtors to the Queens most Sacred Majesty for Subsistance distributed to the said Palatines from the time of their several arrivals at this place and ye other side Hudson River (the first being ye 6 October) to this day make 89 days.

p. 55 Mannor of Livingston 25 March 1711 . . . for 84 days from 1 January 1711.

p. 66 Mannor of Livingston 24 June 1711 . . . 91 days from 26 March.

p. 78 Mannor of Livingston 29 September 1711 . . . 97 days from 25 June abating 14 days during which time they had little or no provision.

p. 91 Mannor of Livingston 24 December 1711 . . . 86 days from 30 September.

p. 103 New York 24 December 1711 . . . from 5th October 1710 at New York to 5 October last . . . N. B. Those families charged with small sums were sent up to the Settlement last fall, others with large sums were subsisted at New York in the spring following and not sent up till April and May. And the remainder being Widows and Orphans have been subsisted to this time.

p. 117 Mannor of Livingston 25 March 1712 . . . for 92 days from 25 October 1711 to this time.

p. 129 New York 25 March 1712 . . . 172 days from 6 October 1711 to this day.

p. 130 Mannor of Livingston 24 June 1712 . . . 91 days from 26 March.

p. 143 Mannor of Livingston 13 September 1712 . . . 81 days from 25 June.

A few names added under heading "New York."

p. 155 (no place given) 23 September 1713 for unequal time subsistance from 13 September 1712 to this day.

p. 156 The book is then apparently made up 27 August 1714 and certified and sealed 2 September 1714.

Palatine Heads of Families

Location (N), New York City

(W), West Camps, Ulster Co., N. Y.

(E), East Camps, Columbia Co., N. Y.

Abelman, Johan Peter, (N).	Beckerin, Maria
Anspach, Johann Balthasar (E).	Beckerin, Elizabetha, Sr., (W)
Anthess, Conrad (his widow).	Beckerin, Elizabetha Jr.
Arnold, Jacob, (W).	Beckerin, Anna Catharina
Arthopeus, Johan Aloph	Beckerin, Anna Dorothea
Asmer, Philip	Beckerin, Magdalena
Baches, Agnes	Bellin, Elizabetha
Bahr, Johannes, (N)	Bellinger, Niclaus
Bahr, Jacob (widow)	Bellinger, Johannes
Ballin, Anna Catherin	Bellinger, Marcus, (E)
Barthel, Henrich	Bellinger, Henrich, (E)
Barthelin, Anna Dorothea	Bellinger, Elizabetha
Barthin, Anna	Bender, Georg, (E)
Bason, Nicolas	Bender, Valentin, (W)
Bast, Johann Henrich	Bender, Peter, his widow
Bast, Jacob, (E)	Benderin, Anna Maria, (N)
Bast, Georg	Berck, Christian
Battorfin, Anna	Berg, Johannes
Batzin, Anna Catherin, (N)	Berg, Abraham
Bauch, Christian, (E)	Bergman, Andreas, (E)
Baun, Mathias (son of Johan Jost)	Beringer, Conrad
Bauman, Adam	Berleman, Johannes
Baumannin, Anna Margaretha	Berner, Georg Ludwig
Baumarsin, Anna Maria	Bernhart, Johann Jost
Bayerin, Anna Margretha	Bernhart, Johann Jost
Beck, Adreas Friderich	Bernhard, Johannes, (E)
Becker, Peter, (W)	Bernhard, Ulrich, (E)
Becker, Johan Friderick, (W)	Bertin, Gerhard Berter and Anna

- Bertram, Jacob
 Betzer, Herman, (E)
 Beyer, Johan Jacob
 Beyerin, Susanna
 Bierman, Johannes
 Blass, Johannes, (E)
 Bohler, Johan Henrich
 Bohm, Henrich
 Bollin, Sophia
 Bonn, Franz le Febure
 Bonnenstiel, Nielaus
 Bonroth, Pohannes, (E)
 Borne, Jacob
 Borsch, Ludwig
 Borst, Jacob
 Boshaar, Jacob
 Boshaar, Johann Jacob
 Bousche, Daniel
 Brackin, Anna Catharina
 Brack, Johan Michael
 Brandaw, Wilhelm, (W)
 Brandorff, Jost
 Braun, Johann Jost
 Braun, Johann Paul
 Brendel, Caspar
 Bressler, Valentin, (N)
 Bretter, Anthoni
 Bregel, Georg, (E)
 Brillin, Anna Margretha
 Brillemannin, Helena, (N)
 Bronnwasser, Anna Gertrude
 Brong, Mattheus, (N)
 Bruchle, Henrich
 Bruyere, Susanne
 Bruyere, Jeanne, (N)
 Boff, Johann Georg
 Buck, Martin
 Brucher, Ulrich
 Burckhard, Johannes
 Bouche, Daniel
 Busch, Daniel, Sr., (E)
 Borsch, Elizabeth
 Capulscher, Joann Jacob
 Cast, Johannes
 Castner, Johann Conrad
 Castner, Johann Peter
 Champanois, Daniel
 Christman, Hanns
 Christmannin, Elizabeth
 Chevenius, Bernhard
 Conrad, Henrich, (E)
 Conradin, Anna
 Dachstatter, Georg, (E)
 Dahles, Johan Wilhelm, (E)
 Danler, Ulrich
 Dannemarcker, Christoph, (N)
 Darrey, Conrad
 Dather, Lorentz
 Datt, Johann Bernhard
 Dansweber, Melchior, (N)
 Deffer, Daniel, (N)
 Demuth, Jacob, (N)
 Demuthin, Anna Catharina
 Demuthin, Anna Maria, (W)
 Demuthin, Agnes
 Deubig, Johann Paul
 Dietrich, Johann Jacob, (N)
 Dietrich, Johann Wilhelm
 Dietrich, Christian
 Dietrichin, Anna Elizabetha, (W)
 Drerenbach, Conrad and his mother
 Anna
 Diewel, Johannes, (N)
 Diewel, Johann Peter, (W)
 Deuchert, Werner, (E)
 Dill, Annanias
 Dill, Wilhelm, (E)
 Dillin, Anna Clara
 Dillenbachin, Barbara and son
 Martin, (E)
 Dilteyin, Catharina
 Dinant, Peter
 Dings, Jacob, (E)
 Dorn, Lazarus
 Dorner, Johannes, (N)
 Dorner, Jacob
 Dornheiser, Jacob
 Dontzbachin, Anna Elizabeth
 Dontzbach, Franz
 Dopff, Johan Peter, (E)
 Draurh, Ludwig, his widow
 Drechsler, Peter
 Dreuthin, Catharina
 Dreuthin, Elizabetha
 Drumm, Andreas
 Drumbaur, Nielaus
 Duntzer, Paulus
 Eigenbrodt, Elizabeth
 Eberhard, Johannes, (W)
 Eckling, Johann Georg
 Eckhard, Adam
 Eckhard, Nielaus, (E)
 Eckhardin, Gertrude, (W)
 Ehemann, Tomas, (W)
 Ehlig, Andreas, (N)
 Eigler, Christian
 Flasser, Paul
 Emichen, Johan Ernst
 Emich, Johan Nielaus
 Emmerich, Johannes
 Emmerich, Johan Michael, (W)
 Emrichin, Anna Maria, (W)
 Engel, Johannes, (N)
 Engelin, Maria Elizabetha
 Engelbert, Johan Peter
 Engesbrucher, Nielaus
 Engelsbrurger, Tillemann
 Enners, Bertram
 Erbin, Catharina, (N)
 Erckel, Bernhard, (N)

- Erhard, Simon
Eschenreuter, Henrich
Eschoffin, Catharina
Eschideins, Thomas, his widow
Ess, Jacob, (E)
Esswein, Jacob
Eygnier, Peter, (W)
Eygnierin, Jeremia
Faeg, Peter
Faeg, Johannes, (E)
Fahling, Henrich, (E)
Falck, Arnold, (N)
Falckenburg, Johann Wilhelm, (W)
Fasius, Valentin
Fasius, Johannes
Feller, Niclus, (E)
Fewersbach, Dietrich, (N)
Fiddler, Gottfried, (W)
Fills, Wilhelm Philip
Fills, Philip
Finck, Johann Wilhelm
Finck, Frantz, (E)
Finck, Andreas
Finckin, Magdalena
Foltz, Melchoir
Finckel, Johan Philip
Fischer, Peter
Fischer, Sebastian
Fluger, Zacharias
Forster, Johan Georg
Franck, Johannes, (W)
Fred, Johan Georg
Freil, Christopher
Frey, Henrich
Freyerin, Barbara
Freymeyer, Michael
Friderick, Conrad, (N)
Friderick, Hanns Adam, (W)
Frillin, Maria Elizabeth
Fritz, Johann Wilhelm
Frolich, Stephan, (W)
Frolich, Valentin
Fucks, Johann Christoph, (E)
Fucks, Johann Philip
Fucks, Johann Peter, (N)
Fuhrer, Johannes
Funck, Peter
Fuhrman, Jacob
Gieserin, Sibilla
Galdach, Anna Maria, (N)
Gantz, Johannes
Gebelin, Anna Margretha
Georg, Johann Anthoni
Georg, Johann Wilhelm, (E)
Georgin, Anna Elizabetha
Gerlach, Peter, (N)
Gerlach, Johann Christ, (W)
Gerlachin, Otilla
German, Jacob
Gesinger, Henrich, (N)
Getel, Daniel, his widow
Getmannin, Barbara
Giesler, Peter, (W)
Glump, Philipp
Getmannin, Maria Barbara
Glock (Klock), Henrich
Goldman, Conrad, (E)
Gondermann, Johann Friderick
Grad, Johannes
Grauberger, Philipp Peter
Graw, Gerlach, his widow
Grawsin, Anna Maria
Greisler, Johann Philipp, (N)
Gresserin, Maria Elizabetha
Griffon, Marie
Griot, Jean
Grucko, Arnold
Gruco, Johann Peter
Hammin, Gertrude
Haas, Simon
Haas, Niclus
Haber, Christian, (E)
Hahn, Johann Georg
Hagedorn, Peter
Hagedorn, Johann Peter, (E)
Hager, Johann Friderick
Hagerin, Maria
Haintz, Urbanus
Hambuch, Johann Wilhelm, (E)
Hamer, Johann Henrich, (E)
Hamm, Peter
Hamm, Conrad
Harter, Johann Niclus
Harter, Johann Michael
Hartman, Johann Hermann
Hartman, Peter
Hartmanin, Anna Maria
Hartwig, Caspar, (N)
Hartel, Adam, (W)
Hasel, Wilhelm
Haselin, Johan Henrich
Hassman, Dietrich
Haupt, Philipp
Haugh, Lucas, his widow
Haug, Plaichard
Haus, Johann Christian
Hayd, Niclus, (E)
Hayd, Johan Jost
Hayd, Peter, (E)
Haydin, Maria Cunigunda
Hayer, Henrich
Hebmann, Michael, (N)
Heel, Jacob
Heydelberg, George Jacob
Heyner, Johannes
Heytersbach, Niclus, (N)
Helmer, Philipp, (W)
Helmer, Peter
Hemmerle, Anna Barbara
Henneschild, Michael, (N)

- Henrich, Lorentz
 Herman, Jost
 Herner, Ludwig Ernest
 Hertzell, Jacob
 Hertzog, Henrich, his widow
 Hess, Johannes
 Hers, Nielaus
 Hefferick, Johannes
 Heffick, Johannes Conrad
 Heusen, Johan Peter
 Heydin, Anna Maria
 Heydorn, Henrich
 Hildebrand, Anna Catharina
 Hirchemer, Georg
 Hoff, John Adam
 Hoff, Andreas
 Hofferlin, Anna Maria
 Hoffin, Margaretha
 Hoffmann, Gabriel
 Hoffman, Herman, (N)
 Hoffmann, Jacob
 Hoffmann, Conrad
 Hoffmann, Heinrich, (E)
 Hoffmanin, Anna Eva
 Hoffmanin, Anna Catharina
 Homburger, Thomas
 Honingen, Michael
 Horne, Johan
 Horne, Caspar
 Hornich, Nielaus
 Horning, Gerhard
 Hothenrothin, Veronica
 Huckin, Barbara
 Huls, Christoph
 Hummel, Georg
 Hummel, Herman
 Huner, Benedict
 Huppert, David, (E)
 Hussmann, Johann Adam
 Hussam, Herman
 Iffland, Johann David
 Ingold, Ulrich
 Ittich, Johann Michael
 Jacobi, Ulrich
 Jager, Wendel
 Jager, Christian
 Jamin, Peter
 Jung, Johann Eberhard
 Jung Peter
 Jung, Henrich, (E)
 Jungin, Maria
 Jung, Johannes, (N)
 Jungin, Anna Elizabeth
 Jung, Theobald
 Jungin, Juliana
 Jungens, Nielaus, (N)
 Kabsin, Anna Sibilla
 Kahl, Johann Wilhelm
 Kamer, Johann Wilhelm, (E)
 Kang, Johan Peter
 Kaschelin, Anna Margretha
 Kasselmann, Christian, (N)
 Kasselmann, Dietrich
 Kast, Johann Georg
 Kayser, Johann Wilhelm, (W)
 Kayser, Johann Matheus, (E)
 Kayserin, Maria
 Kasin, Eva Catharina
 Keller, Christian, his widow
 Keller, Frantz, (N)
 Kercherin, Anna Maria
 Kessler, Johannes, (E)
 Kesselerin, Anna Maria
 Kefler, Henrich
 Kieffer Johan William
 Kiesler, David
 Kirtzenberg, Elizabetha
 Klapperin, Anna Agatha
 Kleinin, Helena
 Kleins, Peter, his widow
 Klein, Hyeronimus, (N)
 Klein, Johannes
 Klein, Johann Jacob
 Klein, Johan Herman
 Klein, Herman
 Klein, Adam
 Klapp, Peter
 Klotter, Henrich
 Klotterin, Susanna and Caspar
 Klug, Johan Georg
 Knab, Ludwig
 Kneibin, Helen Sophia
 Kneskern, Hans Peter, (E)
 Kobel, Jacob, (E)
 Koch, George Ludwig, (E)
 Koch, George Ludwig, (E)
 Kocherthal, Joshua, (W)
 Kohlmeyerin, Catharina
 Kolsch, Anna Eva
 Kolsch, Johan Henrich
 Konig, Marcus
 Kopff, Jacob
 Kornmann, Peter Jacob, (N)
 Korn, Johann Henrich
 Korner, Nielaus, (W)
 Krafftin, Anna Ursula
 Kramer, Johannes
 Kramer, Anthoni, (W)
 Kramer, Anna Maria & Michael, (N)
 Krantz, Johann Henrich, (W)
 Krantz, Conrad
 Krembs, Johannes
 Kugel, Johannes
 Kuhlmer, Johannes
 Kuhlmann, Georg, (W)
 Kuhn, Johann Jacob, (E)
 Kuhn, Samuel, (E)
 Kuhn, Conrad & Valentin, (E)
 Kuhn, Valentin, (E)
 Kohner, Benedict, (N)

- Kundy, Matheus, his widow
 Kuntz, Jacob, 1st
 Kuntz, Jacob, 2nd
 Kuntz, Johannes, (W)
 Kuntz, Mathias
 Kuntz, Matheus
 Kurtz, Johan Christoph
 Labach, Johannes
 Laib, Johann Caspar
 Lahmyer, Johannes
 Lambertin, Elizabetha, (N)
 Lamet, Johannes
 Lancker, Johannes
 Lampmann, Peter
 Landgraff, Georg
 Langin, Magdalena
 Langer, Abraham, (E)
 Lantin, Anna Catharina
 Lappin, Agnes
 Lauck, Johan Jacob, his widow
 Lauck, Abraham
 Laucks, Johann Niclaus, (E)
 Laux, Philipp, (E)
 Laux, Johan Philipp
 Laux, Johan Jost
 Laux, Johannes
 Laux, Georg
 Laux, Dietrich
 Laux, Johann Dietrich
 Lawer, Peter
 Lehemann, Wilhelm
 Lehr, Johannes, (W)
 Leicht, Henrich, (N)
 Leicht, Ludwig, (N)
 Leick, Johannes
 Lein, Conrad, (N)
 Lenckin, Maria Catharina, her son
 Lepper, Philipp Hermann, his widow
 Lesch, Balthasar
 Lescherin, Magdalena
 Leyer, Johannes, (E)
 Lickard, Bernhard, (N)
 Lincken, Johan Wilhelm
 Linsin, Apolonia, (N)
 Lorentz, Johannes, (N)
 Loscher, Sebastian
 Lohin, Anna Catharina
 Lucas, Georg
 Lucas, Francois
 Ludwig, Johann Henrich
 Lutzin, Magdalena
 Lutzin, Anna Barbara
 Madebachin, Elnora
 Maisinger, Conrad
 Maisinger, Sebastian & Niclaus
 Manck, Jacob, (W)
 Mann, Henrich, (W)
 Marterstock, Albrecht Dietrich, (W)
 Martin, Johann Conrad
 Marvin, Maria Magdalena
 Mathesin, Ann
 Mattheus, Johann Martin
 Matheus, Andreas
 Matheus, George, (E)
 Matheus, Henrich, (E)
 Maul, Johann Friderich, (N)
 Maul, Johannes & widow, (N)
 Maul, Christoph
 Mauer, Georg
 Mauer, Johan Georg
 Mauer, Peter, (W)
 Mauser, Johan Georg
 Mausin, Eva
 May, Christoph, his widow
 Mayin, Otilia
 May, Peter
 Mengelin, Anna Maria, (N)
 Menges, Johannes
 Mentgen, Ferdinand
 Merckel, Frederick, (W)
 Mertzin, Anna Catharina
 Mess, Henrich
 Messerin, Anna Margretha, (N)
 Meyer, Christian, (W)
 Meyer, Henrich
 Meyer, Friderick
 Meyer, Henrich
 Meyerin, Elizabeth
 Meyin, Meyin, (N)
 Meyin, Barbara
 Meysenheim, Anna Gertrud
 Michael, Hans Henrich
 Michael, Johan Georg
 Michael, Niclaus
 Milch, Johan Eberhard
 Milges, Johan Wilhelm
 Minckler, Kilian
 Mittler, Johannes
 Mohin, Maria, (N)
 Moor, Henrich, (W)
 Moor, Johan Christ
 Moor, Philipp Wilhelm
 Morellin, Anna Eva, (N)
 Motsch, Johannes
 Muller, Adam
 Muller, Johann Christoph
 Muller, Johann Wilhelm
 Muller, Johannes, 1st
 Muller, Johannes, his widow
 Muller, Johannes, 2nd
 Muller, Adam
 Muller, Philipp, 1st, (W)
 Muller, Philipp, 2nd
 Muller, Philipp, 2nd, his widow
 Muller, Johann Conrad
 Muller, Johann Wilhelm
 Muller, Johann Henrich
 Mullerin, Christina
 Muller, Samuel
 Muller, Johann Georg, (E)

- Mullerin, Catharina, (N)
 Mullerin, Anna Maria
 Mullerin, Anna Margretha
 Mullerin, Anna Margretha
 Musinger, Jacob
 Musig, Johan Jost
 Musig, Viet, (E)
 Neff, Georg Friderick, (N)
 Nehr, Carl, (E)
 Nelles, Johan Georg, (E)
 Nellesin, Maria Elizabeth
 Nelles, Johan Wilhelm, (E)
 Nerbel, Johan Georg
 Ness, Georg Wilhelm, his widow
 Netzbackes, Johan Martin, (E)
 Newkirch, Johan Henrich, (N)
 Netthaber, Quiriness
 Neiss, Abraham, his widow, (N)
 Noll, Bernhard
 Nollin, Anna Margaretha
 Oberbach, Peter (W)
 Oberbach, George
 Oberbach, Johann Peter
 Oberer, Johan Jacobus, his widow
 Oberin, Anna
 Off, Jacob, (N)
 Ohrendorff, Henrich
 Pach, Daniel, his widow
 Peter, Philipp
 Peterin, Anna Gertrude
 Petri, Gertrude
 Petri, Johan Jost, (E)
 Pfeffer, Michael, his widow, (N)
 Pfeiffer, Severin, his child
 Pfeiffer, Henrich, his widow
 Pfuhl, Johan Peter
 Philips, Peter
 Planck, Johannes, (N)
 Plies, Emerich
 Poffner, Johannes Paul
 Proppert, Johann Jost
 Prunet, Paul
 Pulver, Johan Wilhelm
 Rabel, Daniel
 Rainault, Peter
 Rainault, Pierre
 Rauch, Niclus
 Raudenbusch, Johann, his widow
 Rauscher, Martin
 Rausch, Caspar, (E)
 Raw, Niclus
 Rawin, Anna Joh & Georg
 Reich, Balthasar
 Reichard, Joseph, (W)
 Reiffenberg, Johann Georg, (E)
 Reinbold, Matheus, (E)
 Reisdorff, Johannes
 Reitzbackes, Johannes, (W)
 Reitschuff, Johan Paul, (E)
 Reuther, Henrich
 Rickardt, Conrad
 Richter, Andreas, (N)
 Riclusin, Christina
 Riedtin, Anna Catharina
 Riedt, Johann Leonhard
 Riegel, Christoph
 Riehl, Gottfried, (W)
 Rietich, Johann Peter
 Rietichin, Amalia
 Reisch, Jacob, (E)
 Ritznig, Johannes
 Rohrbachin, Anna Elizabeth
 Ronsch, Christian
 Romer, George, (N)
 Roos, Andreas, (W)
 Roschmann, Johannes, (N)
 Rosenbaum, Bernhard
 Rosenweig, Agnes Gertrude
 Rothin, Anna Catherin, (N)
 Rouch, Friderich
 Rues, Ludwig
 Ruffner, Thomas
 Ruger, Johann Philipp
 Ruhl, Niclus
 Salbach, Johannes
 Salbach, Johann Edmund
 Saxin, Anna Gertrude
 Saxin, Anna Maria, (N)
 Schaff, Wilhelm, (E)
 Schaffer, Friderich, (E)
 Schaffer, Johannes
 Schaffer, Joseph
 Schaffer, Georg, (W)
 Schaffer, Reinhard, (E)
 Schaffer, Johann Werner, (E)
 Schaffer, Jacob, (W)
 Schaffer, Jost Henrich
 Schaffer, Gerhard, (E)
 Schaffer, Johann Niclus
 Schafferin, Elizabeth
 Schafferin, Maria Elizabetha
 Schafferin, Maria Margretha, (N)
 Schaib, Hyeronimus, (W)
 Schaid, Anthon
 Schantz, David
 Schawerin, Magdalena
 Schawerman, Conrad, (E)
 Schellin, Anna Margretha
 Schellin, Anna Gertrude
 Schenckel, Jonas
 Schenckelberg, Christina
 Scherl, Jacob
 Scherer, Johann Theobald
 Scherer, Ulrich, his widow
 Schermann, Henrich, (N)
 Schienck, Michael
 Schlicherin, Anna Margretha
 Schieffer, Philipp, (E)
 Schieumer, Mathias, (W)
 Schley, Johann Peter

- Schmidt, George Adam
 Schmidt, Adam, his widow
 Schmidt, Johann Adam
 Schmiden, Elizabeth
 Schmidt, Johann Georg, (E)
 Schmidt, Georg Volbert & Adam
 Schmidt, Henrich, Sr., (N)
 Schmidt, Henrich, Jr.
 Schmidt, Johann Henrich, (E)
 Schmidt, Ludwig, (E)
 Schmidt, Martin
 Schmidt, Johann Wilhelm
 Schmidt, Ni Claus
 Schmidt, Peter, (E)
 Schmidt, Valentin
 Schmidt, Ulrich
 Schmidin, Gertrude
 Schmidin, Anna Barbara
 Schmidin, Margretha, Adam & Michael, (N)
 Schneiderin, Catharin & Peter
 Schneider, Jacob
 Schneider, Henrich
 Schneider, Jacob
 Schneider, Johannes 1st, (E)
 Schneider, Johannes 2nd, (N)
 Schneider, Johann Wilhelm, Sr., (N)
 Schneider, Johann Wilhelm, Jr.
 Schneider, Johann Dietrich
 Schneider, Johann Wilhelm, (E)
 Schnell, Jacob, (E)
 Schottin, Anna Maria
 Schramm, Henrich
 Schreiber Albertus
 Schremle, Henrich, (W)
 Schuch, Johann Wilhelm
 Schuch, Johannes, (E)
 Schucherin, Anna Catharin
 Schultheis, Johannes, (E)
 Schultheis, Johann Georg
 Schultheisin, Anna Barbara
 Schultzin, Anna Elizabetha
 Schumacher, Jacob
 Schumacher, Thomas, (E)
 Schumacher, Daniel, (N)
 Schumacherin, Anna Eva
 Schunemann, Hermann
 Schuppmann, Herman
 Schultz, Michael & Andreas, (E)
 Schultz, Johann Adam
 Schutz, Adam
 Schutz, Philip, 1st
 Schutz, Catharina & Philipp 2nd, (W)
 Schwalb, Johannes, (E)
 Schwedin, Anna Elizabetha, (W)
 Schwitzler, Henrich
 Segendorff, Johann Adam, (E)
 Seibs, Henrich, his widow
 Sein, Johann Peter, (E)
 Selher, Johann Adam
 Seuberb, Johann Martin
 Sex, Henrich, his widow, (E)
 Sibelin, Anna Getha
 Signer, Johannes, his widow, (N)
 Simendinger, Ulrich, (N)
 Simon, Philipp, his widow
 Simon, Wilhelm
 Simonin, Anna Margretha
 Simonin, Maria Magdalena
 Sittenich, Christian, (E)
 Spanheimer, Johann Georg, (W)
 Speder, Johannes
 Speichermann, Sebastian
 Spickermann, Johann Herman
 Spies, Peter, (E)
 Spoon, Henrich
 Spuler, Jacob
 Stahl, Henrich
 Stahl, Johannes
 Stahl, Rudolph, (E)
 Stahl, Joseph
 Stayger, Ni Claus
 Stayger, Stephen
 Stambuchin, Anna Margretha
 Staringer, Ni Claus
 Stein, Martin
 Sterenberger, Jacob, (N)
 Stier, Jost
 Stockelin, Anna Maria
 Stoppelbein, Peter
 Storr, Michael, (N)
 Straub, Johannes, (W)
 Streithin, Magdalena, (W)
 Streith, Christian, (N)
 Stickhauser, Balthasar
 Stubenrauch, Georg Henrich, (W)
 Stuber, Henrich Balthasar, (E)
 Stuber, Jacob
 Stuckrad, Johann Wilhelm, (N)
 Stumpff, Johan Georg
 Stupp, Martin
 Sutz, Johan Dietrich
 Taschen, Hubert
 Theis, Johan Philipp, (E)
 Thiel, Adolph
 Thomas, Henrich
 Thomas, Andreas
 Thomas, Henrich Peter
 Thomas, Johann Georg
 Taberin, Anna Maria
 Trillheuser, Johannes, (N)
 Uhl, Carol
 Uhl, Henrich
 Ulrich, Johannes Elias
 Umbertro, Valentin
 Vandeberg, Cornelius
 Velten, Johann Wilhelm
 Vogt, Simon, (N)
 Volbert, Jacob, his widow
 Vollandin, Anna Regina

Wagner, Johann Christ	Wilhelm, Nicolaus, his widow
Wagner, Peter	Windecker, Hartman, (E)
Walrath, Gerhard	Winniger, Ulrich
Walborn, Johan Adam, (E)	Winther, Henrich, (E)
Wallrath, Henrich Conrad	Wisener, Johannes
Wannemacher, Dietrich, (N)	Wittman, Johan Martin
Wannemacher, Peter	Wittmachin, Maria Catharina
Wanner, Ludwig	Wolleben, Peter, (W)
Warembourg, Maria	Wohleben, Philipp, (W)
Warno, Jacob, (E)	Wohleben, Christoph
Weber, Henrich	Wohleben, Valentin, (W)
Weber, Valentin	Wohleben, Michael
Weber, Nicolaus, (E)	Wohleben, Anna Catharina
Weber, Jacob, (E)	Wolbach, Engelbert
Weber, Wigand	Wolbert, Nicolaus
Weberin, Otillia	Wolffin, Anna Gertrude
Wegele, Michael	Wolffin, Maria Clara
Weydknecht, Andreas, (N)	Wolffin Maria Catharina
Weidschopff, Johann Peter	Wormbs, Christian
Weillin, Catharina	Woschel, Peter Anthoni
Weis, Mathias	Woschel, Augustin
Weis, Stephan	Wulffen, Gottfried
Weisborn, Georg	Wurhmserin, Anna, (N)
Weiser, Johann Conrad, (E)	Wust, Conrad
Weisin, Susanna, (N)	Zangerin, Johannes, (N)
Weller, Hyeronimus, (W)	Zehe, Johannes, (E)
Wendelin, Anna Juliana	Zeller, Johann Henrich
Wennerich, Balthasar, (N)	Zeller, Johannes, (E)
Wennerich, Benedict	Zerbe, Philipp, (E)
Werner, Michael	Zerbe, Martin
Weydin, Gertrude	Zimmerman, Johan Jacob
Wickhausen, Peter, (N)	Zipperle, Bernhard
Widerwachs, Henrich, (E)	Zufeld, Johan Georg
Wies, Melchoir	Zwickin, Veronica, (N)
Wilhelm, Paul	847 names.
Wilhelm, Anthony, his widow	

(THE END)











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